

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

Bulletin 21

1925

POOR RELIEF
IN
PENNSYLVANIA

A STATE-WIDE SURVEY

By EMIL FRANKEL

Special Representative

HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

May 28, 1925.

Hon. Gifford Pinchot, *Governor,*
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

My dear Mr. Pinchot:

Herewith is submitted a detailed study of poor law administration in Pennsylvania, made under the direction of the Department of Welfare. We believe that it lays a foundation upon which improved poor law administration for Pennsylvania can be built.*

Very Truly

ELLEN C. POTTER, M. D.,

Secretary of Welfare.

INTRODUCTION

Poor relief in its larger aspects proceeds through three major channels in Pennsylvania. The first is private philanthropy, which can be quick in action, cut red tape, blaze trails in methods, which public poor relief officials who deal with the people's money raised through tax rates cannot do. Private philanthropy, one might say is the light "cavalry," always out on the skirmish line, pioneering in the best methods of handling social problems.

Our second channel of service is our local official charity administered in local communities on a very large scale and with opportunities for service, because it is official, such as private philanthropy cannot have. A very large part of the work which the poor boards have to perform is in the field of relief as well as in the field of custodial care.

The third channel of service is state charity, limited largely in the past to custodial care of the insane, feeble-minded and criminal and to a certain measure of relief work, as in the Mother's Assistance Fund and appropriations to hospitals, homes and agencies not owned by the State.

There have been three distinct phases in the development of private philanthropy: individual relief; organized relief; and now the effort to prevent the need for relief. Private philanthropy began to express itself when an individual, distressed by the need of some one in the community, did what was necessary to give relief. Since the time of the Good Samaritan individual need has been met by individual help. After a time, as the population grew and there were more people on the road to Jericho and likely to fall among thieves, there were more hearts responsive to the needs and the Good Samaritans found themselves trying to help the same person. To better direct their efforts they began to organize into groups and we had the modern development of associated charity organizations.

Not long thereafter two or more agencies found themselves trying to help the same individual, while other persons who needed help were neglected. Then came the effort to avoid further duplication by checking up through the social service exchange. Private philanthropy has today arrived at the place where it gives a minimum of custodial care and puts the major effort on preventive work, trying to prevent dependency and delinquency. It is organizing so that overlapping of effort is being reduced to a minimum through the social service exchange while at the same time it attempts to see that no one is neglected; community funds have been established so that there

are not so many financial drives as formerly ,and, in a word, efficiency is being put into philanthropy, while the heart still remains to dominate the work.

Local official charity, with which this report concerns itself specifically, has progressed through various stages of development since 1682, when Pennsylvania's poor laws were first formulated. The directors of the poor originally performed all the functions of relief. To that was added the custodial care of men, women and children for whom shelter had to be provided, and almshouses were established. Still later, as society became more complex and as private charity demonstrated better methods of social work with the dependent classes, certain portions of the duties of the directors of the poor were delegated to other special bodies such as the Mothers Assistance Boards, the Workmans Compensation Board, etc.

But Pennsylvania has not taken the third step in the development of her local official charity, following as she should the trail blazed by private charity. She has not begun to place emphasis upon the prevention of dependency, and she has not utilized the "family case work" method which should enable her to diminish the costs of public charity to the tax-payers, by the rehabilitation and re-education of her dependents to habits of industry, thrift and self-dependence.

The State government in Pennsylvania has lagged behind for many years in the development of her charitable undertakings. Not until 1869 did we establish our State Board of Charities. We developed institutions for the care of the insane, the feeble-minded and the criminal, but with no correlation. Within the last ten years State governments throughout the United States have realized that because of the tremendous expense involved in the old type of institutional care provided by them, not to mention the expense to local county governments, greater emphasis must be placed on prevention of dependency, insanity, feeble-mindedness and crime, gradually eliminating the need for relief and custodial care alone.

In consequence, in many States, including Pennsylvania, we note the establishment of Departments of Welfare, the object of which is to co-ordinate the activities of the State in its social welfare undertakings, and with an underlying philosophy of *prevention* which aims ultimately to reduce the great burden to the taxpayers, while at the same time increasing the number of self-supporting citizens.

In its efforts to standardize and unify and co-ordinate Pennsylvania's charities, the State Department of Welfare undertook a comprehensive study of Pennsylvania's Poor Law Administration, beginning with an analysis of the law itself and its origins and ending with an intimate review of hundreds of individual cases in which **relief of various sorts** has been given under the law. Our study

attempted not only to get at the more readily ascertainable facts concerning county poor relief administration, but gathered facts and figures from even the smallest political sub-division of the State.

The foundation for any intelligent social action must be built up on facts, and these we have obtained. We have had the experience of the whole state to draw upon, and we are able therefore, to generalize not from isolated facts, but from a great body of authentic information gathered by trained observers and investigators.

As a result of our study three objectives stand out: The first objective is the abolition of the antiquated, inhumane, inefficient and costly township and borough system of poor relief.

The second objective is the hospitalization of the county home or almshouse by equipping it to handle the type of population which it now finds within its walls—the very old and infirm; the chronically ill and feeble-minded.

The time has come when in the interest of the public welfare our county homes must become our county hospitals. There must be physicians as well as farm hands, and nurses as well as matrons and attendants. There must be proper hospital equipment and provision for isolation of contagious disease, and there must continue to be that unit in which the handicapped, while still in fair health, may be maintained at less cost than in a hospital.

There must be provision, also, to keep together the husband and wife who have traveled the long trail together and who have come down the twilight of their days without the funds to keep their little home together.

The third objective is the preservation of the self-dependence and independence of all individuals and families finding themselves in need of temporary relief. If we are to serve best those who appeal for aid we must give them the kind of service which will build up family life. This involves constructive family case work such as is done by the best family social agencies in the field of private philanthropy.

Such service does not necessarily mean care given in the poorhouse, nor does it mean grocery orders and outdoor relief. Very frequently it means advice, friendly, helpful, constructive advice, which helps a man to keep on his own feet, and sometimes it means a combination of all three services for a limited period.

Advice is not cheap! The banker gives it to you and perhaps saves you thousands of dollars on your investment; the farm agent gives it and you increase the worth of your crops; the doctor gives it and you add years to your life by following it. And so it is in the social field. Advice wisely given frequently means all the difference between a wrecked or a saved personal or family life, or high or low taxes for the citizens of your district.

The specialized service that we have secured in other fields must also be obtained in the social field. Therefore, our first line of defense against the ever increasing army of dependents seeking relief is the adoption of the policy on the part of all our poor boards of employing persons skilled in helping families and individuals to maintain themselves, and when self maintenance is found impossible, to see that they are given the proper kind of care.

Our second line of defense is a methodical combination of all official and private philanthropic endeavors. By pooling our knowledge and our resources we can make rapid progress toward the best social welfare program that has ever been worked out for any State.

"Democracy implies not only that we must care for the unfortunate, but that as far as possible each individual in a democracy shall bear his share of the burden of that democracy."

Anything, therefore, tending to create or to perpetuate any considerable group in any community, city, county, state or nation, which has to be supported by the taxpayers and is not placed in a position in which it can contribute toward its own support, not only is creating a burden which is financially injurious to a real democracy, but is actually destroying the self-respect and independence of the persons who are grouped in that dependent class.

Therefore, it is essential that the official poor boards of Pennsylvania should be at work definitely committed to the proposition of the *prevention of poverty* and dependency, and to the development on the other hand of an increasingly large body of *self-dependent and, therefore, independent American citizens* competent to conduct the affairs of these great United States.

ELLEN C. POTTER, M. D.,

Secretary of Welfare.

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I. THE POOR LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA

BEGINNINGS

To furnish a background for this report on Poor Relief Administration a brief outline of the introduction and progress of poor law legislation in Pennsylvania is given here.

It should be said at the outset that Pennsylvania's poor laws are not of indigenous growth. They are the English poor laws naturalized in this country, with alterations to cope with American conditions.

As early as 1676 the Duke of York Laws made provision for the poor. The Thirty-second law of the "The Great Law" passed by the assembly called by Penn in 1682 dealt with poor relief.

The first general poor law was enacted in 1705. The first institutional relief was inaugurated by the Quakers in 1713, when they built a few small houses on a lot donated by one of their members. The first municipal almshouse was authorized in 1729, and opened for the reception of inmates in 1731.

In 1771, a general code of the Elizabethan Poor Laws, adapted to the Province of Pennsylvania, was enacted under the title of "An act for the relief of the poor," because "the laws hitherto made for the relief of the poor have not answered all the good purposes that were expected from them." This act was renewed immediately after the Declaration of Independence, and it remained in force until 1836.

THE LAW OF 1836

With social legislation advancing, revision of the colonial statute of 1771 could not be postponed further. In the Poor Laws of 1836 came detailed provisions concerning relief and employment; settlement; removals and appeals; liability of persons for the support of others; desertion; duties of overseers; vagrancy; and fines and penalties.

Though subsequent provisions materially altered some of the provisions of the law of 1836, our present poor laws are based substantially upon those of the 1836 act.

THE COUNTY SYSTEM

During the last half of the eighteenth century Pennsylvania's development was exceptionally rapid, due to the large influx of foreign immigrants. Poverty incident to the adoption of immigrants to new physical, social and industrial conditions increased as rapidly as the population and entailed a heavy burden on the scattered inhabitants of the smaller administrative areas.

The demand for the adoption of a plan whereby the able-bodied poor would contribute toward their maintenance and thereby diminish the excessive poor rates was widespread.

It resulted in the launching of the county system with the passage in 1798 of "An act to provide for the creation of a house of employment and support of the poor in the counties of Chester and Lancaster."

The act of 1798 which became the classic model for seventy-eight special acts creating poorhouse districts between 1700 and 1873 contained the following main provisions: Authorization of erection; commissions on location and erection of buildings; election; organization and incorporation of boards of directors; powers and duties of the boards of directors; compensation of directors, commissioners and other employes; transfer and employment of the poor; and certain miscellaneous provisions.

As time went on parts of the earlier acts which became obsolete were either amended or displaced by new ones. Such differences as do appear from time to time were in keeping with social and economic progress and intended chiefly for improvement of efficiency in administration.¹

CENTRALIZED POOR DISTRICTS

Some counties which resisted the introduction of the county unit system and yet felt that the single township and borough administration was not entirely satisfactory created centralized poor districts in which a number contiguous, cities, townships and boroughs joined for poor relief purposes. The first of these districts was the Jenkins Township, Pittston City and Pittston Township Poor District, created in 1857.

THE TOWNSHIP AND BOROUGH SYSTEM OF POOR RELIEF

The smallest divisions in the system for the administration of poor relief are the townships and boroughs. The township and borough unit plan, still in vogue in a number of our counties, is a survival of the poor relief system of the colonial days.

An explanation for resistance in some counties to the general trend toward the county unit system may be found in the diversity of interest as expressed in heterogeneous populations and varying industries, on one hand, and mistaken local pride, prejudice and conservatism on the other hand.

¹. An extended account of the origin of our poor laws will be found in William Clinton Heffner's "History of Poor Relief Legislation in Pennsylvania 1682-1913." The report of the Poor Law Commission of 1889 contains a summary of poor relief legislation in Pennsylvania up to that time.

Since 1830 the abolition of the township and borough system of poor relief has been strongly urged by four official poor law commissions. The General Poor Relief Act of 1925, drawn up to accomplish this, was not passed by the 1925 legislature as submitted. Eight counties and parts of three counties will continue to administer their poor relief on the antiquated township and borough plan. Undoubtedly the same forces, interests and arguments that have prevented the complete introduction of the county unit system in the past played an important role with the township and borough system counties which secured their exemption from the provisions of this act.

There is every indication, however, that the remaining counties under the township and borough poor relief system in Pennsylvania will come to realize that the county unit administration is best designed to cope with modern conditions of dependency, besides being vastly more humane, efficient and economical.

CODIFICATION AND REVISION

It is to be regretted that ever since the enactment of poor laws there has been much special legislation so that we have on our statute books 1400 poor laws, of which more than 800 are special and local. This has brought about a condition which makes it frequently impossible to determine what laws really are in force.

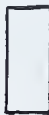
Our poor law legislation since 1836 has made few changes in the principles of the Elizabethan Poor Laws and such slight changes as have been made have dealt almost exclusively with administrative features.

The general Poor Relief Act passed by the 1925 Legislature is a step toward the complete modernization of our poor laws. There is every indication that Pennsylvania will soon be in the forefront of the procession.

THE POOR DISTRICTS OF PENNSYLVANIA

County unit poor districts with Directors of the Poor including Directors of Home for Destitute in Westmoreland County and one municipal government district in Allegheny county.

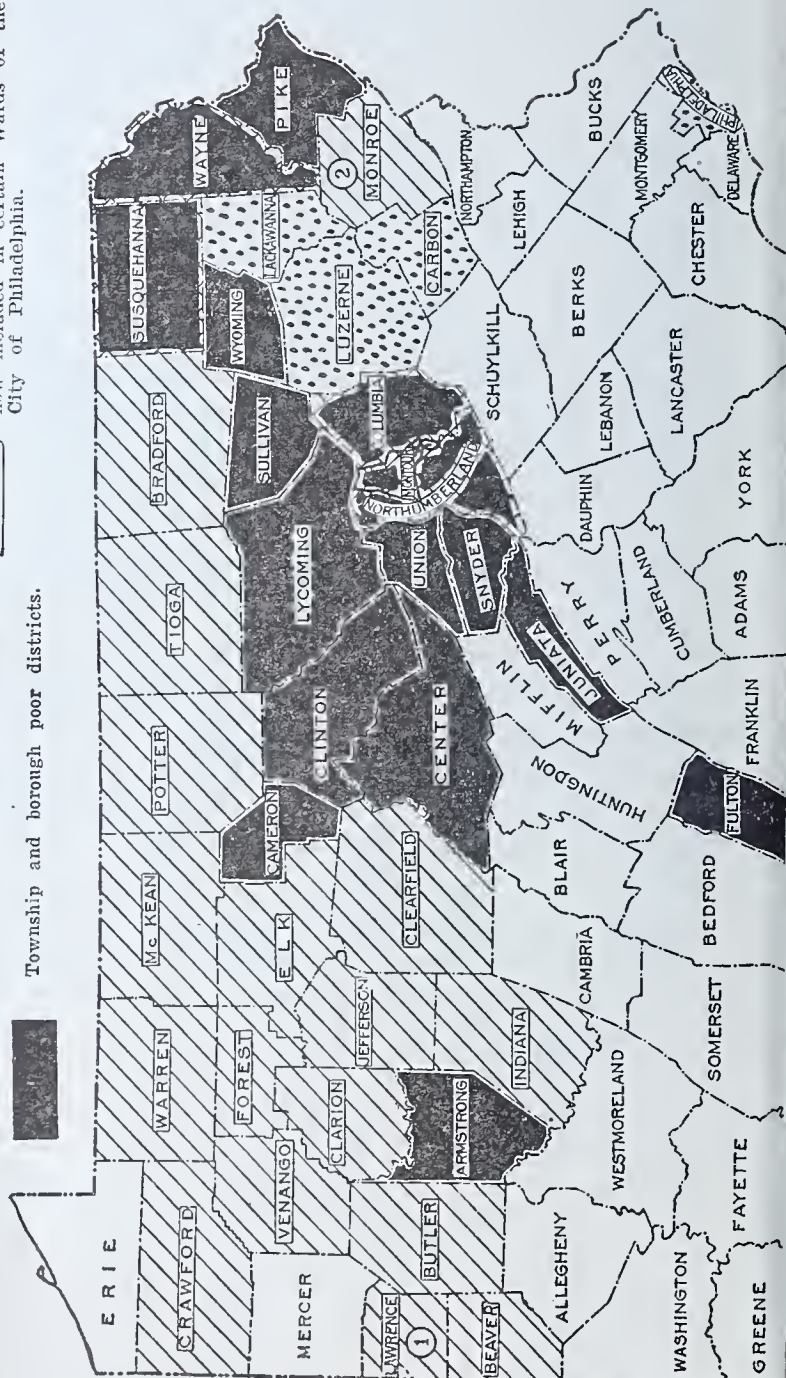
County unit poor districts with County Commissioners acting as Directors of the Poor and one municipal government district in McKean County. (1) and (2)—Lawrence and Monroe Counties have recently voted to adopt this system.



Township and borough poor districts.

Centralized districts with one composed of parts of Luzerne and Carbon Counties and one composed of parts of Lackawanna and Luzerne Counties. Includes also some independent township and borough districts.

Municipal government district and six former borough and township districts now included in certain Wards of the City of Philadelphia.



II. THE POOR DISTRICTS OF PENNSYLVANIA

Territorial units for poor relief exist in the State as follows:

(1) The city of Philadelphia, with relief administration under a Department of Public Welfare, taking in the major portions of the city. Philadelphia also contains six independent poor districts in the areas that comprised the former townships of Bristol, Germantown, Oxford and Lower Dublin, Byberry, Moreland, and the Borough of Roxborough. The city of Philadelphia and the districts of Germantown, Oxford and Lower Dublin, and Roxborough maintain almshouses.

The city of Pittsburgh with a Department of Public Welfare. The remainder of Allegheny county is administered as a county unit by three directors of the poor. The city and the rest of the county each maintains an almshouse.

(2) Fifteen counties, with population ranging from 7,477 to 103,236, each administered as a county unit by the three county commissioners acting as directors of the poor, and each maintaining an almshouse.

These counties are: Beaver, Bradford, Butler, Clarion, Clearfield, Crawford, Elk, Forest, Indiana, Jefferson, McKean, (Bradford City is a separate poor district), Potter, Tioga, Venango, and Warren.

(3) Twenty-nine counties, with population ranging from 22,875 to 597,465, each administered as a county unit by three regularly elected directors of the poor, and each maintaining an almshouse.

These counties are: Adams, Allegheny (not including Pittsburgh), Bedford, Berks, Blair, Bucks, Cambria, Chester, Cumberland, Dauphin, Delaware, Erie, Fayette, Franklin, Greene, Huntingdon, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh, Mercer, Mifflin, Montgomery, Northampton, Perry, Schuylkill, Somerset, Washington, Westmoreland, and York.

(4) Seven centralized poor districts, with population ranging from 8,992 to 250,030, confined to three counties in the anthracite coal region (Carbon, Lackawanna, and Luzerne) in each of which districts a number of cities, boroughs, and townships, have joined for purposes of poor relief, and which are generally administered by directors of the poor appointed by the court. Each district maintains an almshouse.

The seven centralized poor districts are: Blakely Poor District; Carbondale City; Central Poor District; Jenkins Township, Pittston Borough, and Pittston Township Poor District; Lake View Poor District; Middle Coal Field Poor District; Scranton Poor District.

Those portions of the counties not organized within any of the existing centralized poor districts administer their poor relief on the township and borough system.

(5) Nineteen counties, with population ranging from 6,297 to 122,079, under the township and borough system of poor relief, comprising 459 separate poor districts with 924 elected overseers of the poor; 29 of the 459 poor districts maintaining local almshouses.

CHART B
COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE
POOR TAXES

1900-1924.



The following are the counties under the township and borough systems: Armstrong, Cameron, Centre, Clinton, Columbia, Fulton, Juniata, Lawrence, Lycoming, Monroe, Montour, Northumberland, Pike, Snyder, Sullivan, Susquehanna, Union, Wayne, and Wyoming.

Lawrence and Monroe counties have voted recently to abolish the township and borough system of poor relief and adopt the county unit system.

Through the General Poor Relief Act of 1925, which becomes effective in January, 1926, the following nine counties automatically change over to the County Unit System: Armstrong, Cameron, Fulton, Juniata, Pike, Snyder, Sullivan, Union, and Wyoming.

III. POOR RELIEF TAXATION

When one considers the amounts raised in taxation for poor relief purposes by our various counties one will readily come to the conclusion that they have not been niggardly toward their dependent wards; nor do the large sums raised in poor taxes indicate that the business of caring for the dependent classes is an insignificant affair in Pennsylvania.

The total poor taxes levied annually from 1910 to 1924 by our sixty-seven counties are shown in Table I.

In the last ten years our counties raised over ~~twelve million~~ ^{100,000,000} dollars in poor taxes. The 1924 poor taxes compared with those of ten years ago represent an increase of more than 100 per cent.

TABLE I
Poor Taxes 1910-1924

Year	Amount
1910	\$ 4,578,969 48
1911	4,658,011 50
1912	5,440,332 52
1913	5,090,534 21
1914	5,695,152 23
1915	5,917,542 64
1916	9,365,774 88
1917	9,886,122 66
1918	10,363,846 83
1919	10,413,824 73
1920	9,080,006 72
1921	10,172,870 20
1922	11,172,371 95
1923	12,524,083 34
1924	12,093,768 93

Comparing the growth in population with the growth in poor taxes we find that from 1900 to 1910 the population of the State increased 22 per cent and poor taxes 69 per cent; in the ten-year period 1910 to 1920 the population increased 14 per cent and the poor taxes 86 per cent.

In the ten-year period 1915 to 1924 inclusive the per capita poor taxes for the 67 counties combined amounted to \$11.58. The lowest per capita in any county was \$2.18; the highest \$22.93. One-fourth

of the counties had less than five dollars per capita poor taxes; one half between five and ten dollars; and the remaining one-fourth per capita poor taxes amounting to ten dollars and over.

Our figures indicate that there is very little difference in the extent of poor taxation between the rural and urban counties.

The poor taxes of the ten-year period 1915 to 1924 inclusive constitute 5.8 per cent of the general taxes for the same period. In the different counties these percentages range from 1.3 to 12.3.

CHART C

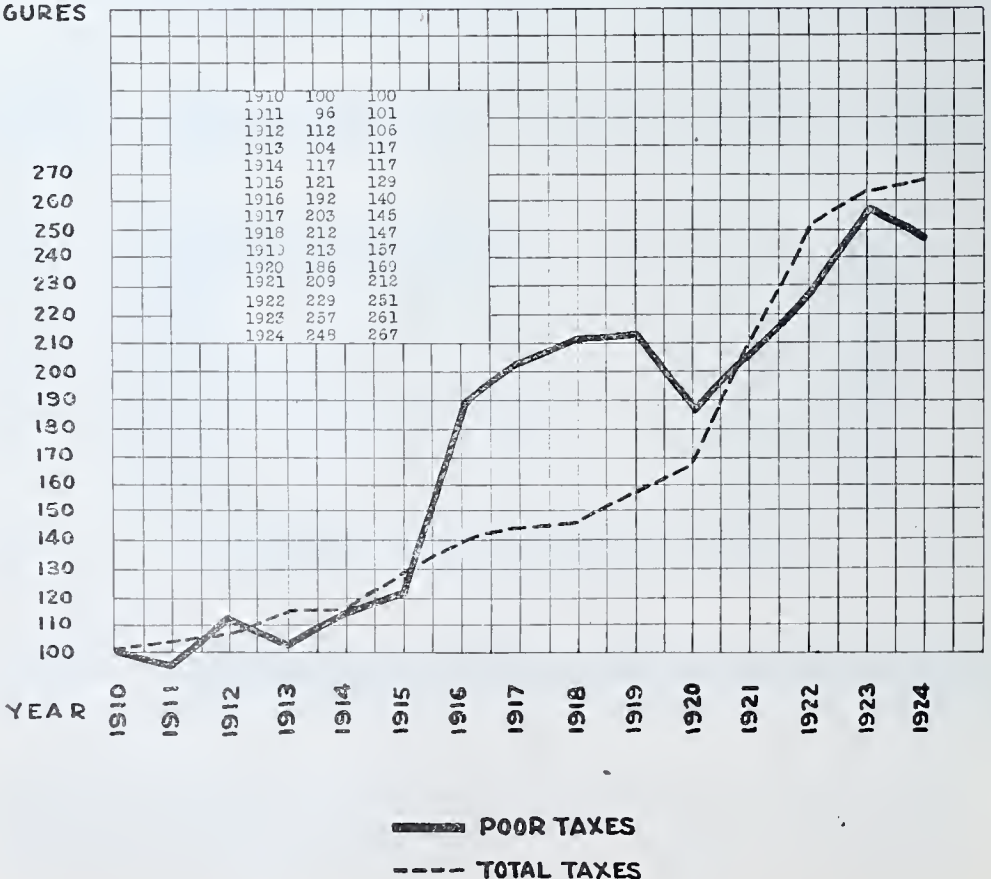
COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

TREND IN POOR RELIEF TAXATION AND GENERAL TAXATION

PERIOD - 1910-1924

[BASED ON INDEX FIGURES - 1910=100]

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FIGURES



IV. THE ALMSHOUSE

EXTENT OF ALMSHOUSE PROPERTY

Pennsylvania's existing poor districts maintain eighty-six county homes, almshouses and poor farms. Our survey shows that the total value of investment in almshouse property is about \$16,500,000, which means that for every inmate maintained there is property to the value of \$2,000. The value of land and buildings of individual almshouses ranges from \$1,000 to away beyond \$1,000,000.

CURRENT ALMSHOUSE EXPENDITURES

Table 2 shows the current almshouse expenditures for 1923 of eighty-five county homes, almshouses and poor farms reporting.

These and other figures presented on almshouse expenditures must be regarded as tentative and not conclusive in any sense. While it may be possible to get report of the total expenditures for an almshouse, it is often not possible to get the exact details which would permit ready classification for comparative purposes. Even if the department had attempted a thorough auditing, basic figures were lacking in many almshouses. In some cases the bookkeeping system includes institutions other than the almshouses, so that items can be separated only with the greatest difficulty and sometimes not at all. The reports of per capita costs of inmates maintenance in almshouses particularly present hardly more than rough estimates.

TABLE II

Current Almshouse Expenditures 1923

Expenditures for	Amount	Per Cent
Administration -----	\$ 999,503 69	31.5
Salaries and Wages -----	970,945 66	30.6
Office Expenses -----	28,558 03	.9
Operation of Plant -----	1,203,749 69	38.0
Fuel and Light -----	470,941 07	14.9
Furniture Bedding and Linen -----	66,725 51	2.1
Farm Expenses -----	361,474 95	11.4
Ordinary Repairs -----	164,994 38	5.2
All Other Expenses -----	139,613 78	4.4
Inmates Maintenance -----	964,127 16	30.5
Provisions and Supplies -----	771,911 60	24.4
Clothing and Shoes -----	129,123 72	4.1
Medicine and Medical Supplies -----	48,550 02	1.5
Burial of Inmates -----	14,541 82	.5
 Total Current Almshouse Expenditures -----	 \$3,167,380 54	 100.0
Building and Improvements -----	\$ 598,463 49	
Grand Total Almshouse Expenditures -----	\$3,765,844 03	

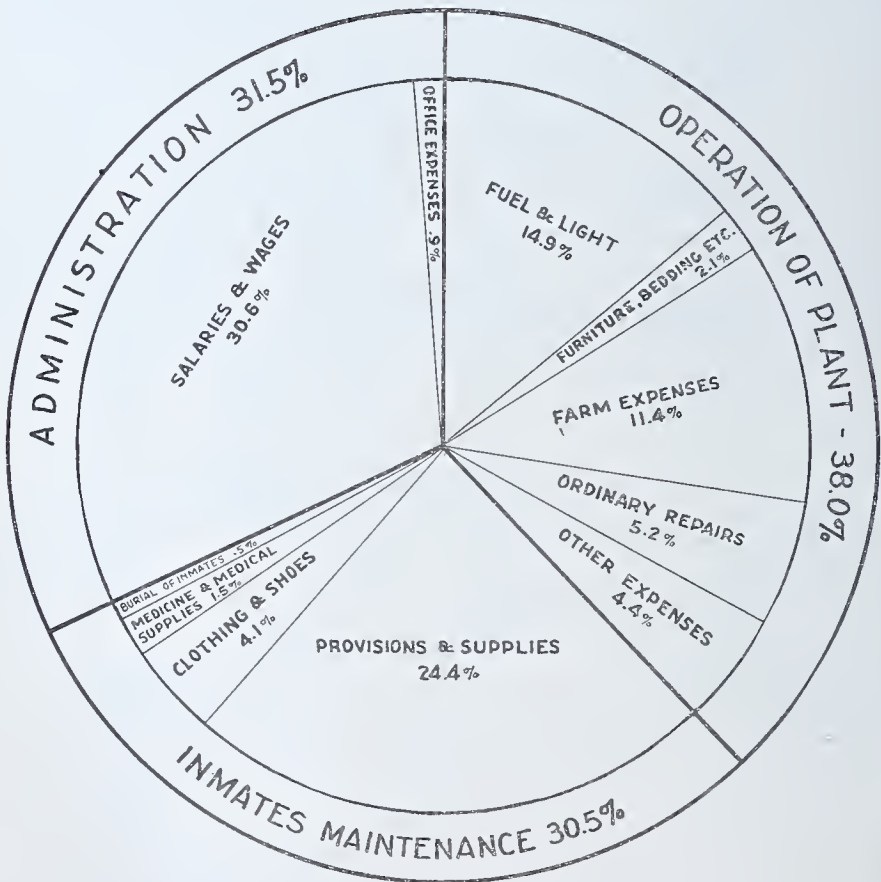
The total almshouse expenditures for the year 1923 for eighty-five almshouses reporting were \$3,765,844, in which is included more than one-half million dollars for building and improvements.

CHART D

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

CURRENT ALMSHOUSE EXPENDITURES 1923

[85 ALMSHOUSES REPORTING]



TOTAL CURRENT ALMSHOUSE EXPENDITURES \$3,167,381
 BUILDINGS, IMPROVEMENTS & OTHER EXPENDITURES 598,463
 GRAND TOTAL ALMSHOUSE EXPENDITURES \$3,765,844

Of the current almshouse expenditures for 1923, amounting to \$3,167,380; 31.5 per cent may be classified as administration expenses; 38.0 for operation of plant; and 30.5 per cent for inmates' maintenance.

In view of the varying number of inmates maintained in our individual almshouses the amounts of current institutional expenditures range from a little over \$100 to more than \$500,000.

The administration expenses, which for all almshouses constitute 31.5 per cent of the total expenditures, range from 5.5 percent to 100 per cent in the individual almshouses considered. One hundred per cent administration expenditures means that no inmates were maintained during the year 1923, but that salaries etc. continued to be paid.

The proportion of the total expenditures going to the operation of the plant—which is 38 per cent for all almshouses—ranges from 3.8 per cent to 65.2 per cent in individual institutions.

The percentage of the cost of inmates maintenance in the total current expenditures, which is 30.4 per cent for all almshouses shows variations from 12.3 per cent to 94 per cent.

Considering all our almshouses, the daily per capita cost of maintenance of the inmates during the year 1923 was about \$1, or \$365 a year. There are considerable variations among the different almshouses, the small township and borough almshouses as a rule having the largest per capita expenditures. A number of the larger almshouses show rather higher per capita costs than the average. This is due to the inclusion of the maintenance cost of insane inmates, the bookkeeping systems of these almshouses not permitting separation as between cost of maintenance at almshouse and hospitals for the insane.

EXTENT OF ALMSHOUSE POPULATION

During the year 1923 we maintained an average of 8628 inmates in our almshouses which is more than one-tenth of the total number enumerated in special United States Census statistics for the whole of the United States in 1923.

To what extent we have supported them in larger or smaller institutions Table 3 will show.

TABLE III

Almshouses and Almshouse Inmates, 1923
Classified According to Size of Institution

Average Number of Inmates Maintained	Poor Districts		Total Inmates Maintained	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
None reported during 1923 -----	6	7.0	-----	-----
Less than 25 -----	26	30.2	249	2.9
25 but under 50 -----	7	8.1	286	3.3
50 but under 100 -----	23	26.7	1,718	19.9
100 but under 250 -----	17	19.8	2,743	31.8
250 but under 500 -----	5	5.8	1,786	20.7
500 and over -----	2	2.4	1,846	21.4
Total -----	86	100.0	8,628	100.0

These figures indicate that almost 40 per cent of our almshouses have accommodated an average of less than 25 inmates each during the year 1923; over 26 per cent from 50 to 100 inmates each, and 26 per cent of the almshouses have accommodated more than 100 inmates each. The bulk of our inmate population is cared for in the larger institutions. Nearly 74 per cent of the total number were maintained in almshouses accommodating 100 inmates and over.

The relationship of Pennsylvania's almshouse figures to those covering the entire United States is established in Table 4.

TABLE IV

Number of Inmates in Pennsylvania's Almshouses on a Given Date
and Number Admitted During the Year

Year	Enumerated on a Given Date			Admitted During Year		
	United States	Pennsylvania	Per cent Pa. is of U. S.	United States	Pennsylvania	Per cent Pa. is of U. S.
1880 -----	66,203	9,184	13.9	1	1	1
1890 -----	73,045	8,653	11.8	1	1	1
1904 -----	81,764	9,054	11.1	81,412	9,738	12.0
1910 -----	84,198	9,606	11.4	88,313	9,467	10.7
1923 -----	78,090	8,060	10.3	63,807	7,093	11.1

¹Data not obtained.

It is interesting to observe the rather constant percentages the Pennsylvania almshouse population constitutes of the total United States almshouse population, even when considering as long a period as forty-three years.

Table 5 also shows the relationship between the almshouse population of Pennsylvania and that of the United States.

TABLE V

Relationship of Almshouse Population to General Population
1904, 1910 and 1923

(Ratios per 100,000 Population)

Year	Enumerated on a given date		Admitted During the Year	
	Pennsyl- vania	United States	Pennsyl- vania	United States
1904 -----	133.2	100.0	143.3	99.5
1910 -----	125.3	91.5	123.5	96.0
1923 -----	89.6	71.5	78.9	58.4

These figures show a relatively greater decrease in the almshouse population in relation to Pennsylvania's population than if all the almshouse inmates in the United States are considered in relation to the population of the country. But they are nevertheless amazing when one considers this great and wealthy state. The ratio of inmates enumerated on a given date in 1923 was 25 per cent higher in Pennsylvania than was the case in the country at large; while the ratio of inmates admitted during 1923 was 35 per cent greater in Pennsylvania as compared with the ratio for the whole United States. These ratios should even be higher, for the figures do not include our potential almshouse population, that is, a considerable number of men and women boarded out by township and borough poor districts, which do not maintain almshouses.

SEX AND AGE

Statistics regarding our 8,000 inmates show that 79.5 per cent were males, and 29.5 per cent females. Of the more than 7,000 persons admitted to our almshouses during the year 1923 76.3 per cent were males and 23.7 per cent were females.

The ratio of male and female inmates of almshouses compared with the general population of the same sex shows that the ratio for males is twice as great as that for the females. This undoubtedly indicates that women who have no means for self-support are more likely than men in similar circumstances to be taken care of by relatives, friends or private benevolence. It is also possible that they find employment more easily, because of the heavy demand for domestic service and housework.

Our age statistics of inmates compared with those for former years indicate that our almshouses are becoming institutions for the aged to an increasing extent. About 10 per cent of the total number were under forty years of age; almost 30 per cent between 40 and 59; and more than 60 per cent of the total were over 60 years of age.

MARITAL CONDITION

Concerning the marital conditions of our inmates, the latest United States Census figures are of interest.

TABLE VI

Marital Conditions of Almshouse Inmates

Marital Condition	Per cent of Total	
	Male	Female
Single -----	53.7	42.1
Married -----	11.9	13.3
Widowed -----	28.4	40.6
Divorced -----	3.0	1.8
Unknown -----	3.0	2.1
	100.0	100.0

As compared with the general population figures the proportion of unmarried persons is very much higher for almshouse inmates, especially males. The fact that such a large proportion of our adult almshouse inmates have never married indicates that dependency is more or less associated with the lack of normal family life. A large proportion of the inmates have had no husbands or wives and no children who might help support them in old age or misfortune.

OCCUPATIONS

The male almshouse population is recruited largely from the ranks of unskilled labor. About 20 per cent were classed as common laborers and almost 23 per cent as farmers and agricultural laborers. The bulk of the female inmates were in domestic or personal service before admission to the almshouse.

NATIONALITY

The 1923 figures show that nearly 70 per cent of the total inmate population was native born (which included less than 5 per cent negroes). The foreigners constituted a little over 30 per cent of the total. The proportion of native-born was larger among the women inmates.

Of the more than 2600 foreign-born inmates a little over 40 per cent belonged to the English-speaking peoples, of which the Irish furnished the largest contingent. Second in numerical importance were the Slavic-speaking foreigners (Slavic, Polish, Lithuanian, etc.) constituting almost 27 per cent of the total number. This is a rather recent development and indicates that the newer immigration is beginning to be a factor in the almshouse population.

The German-speaking inmates made up a little over 20 per cent of the total; the Latin group over 5 per cent; and the Scandinavian group about 3 per cent.

ADMISSIONS AND DISCHARGES

During the year 1923, 7093 inmates were admitted to our almshouses and 7056 were discharged or died. During the last ten years probably 150,000 persons passed through the almshouses of Pennsylvania.

More than 25 per cent of the almshouse inmates had been previously admitted, many two, three, four times and even more. One almshouse district reports an inmate to have been in and out of the institution as many as eighty-four times.

As compared with the males the females are much stabler almshouse inmates and less prone to rove after the first admission. Of the total male inmates almost 30 per cent had been in the almshouse before; while of the females a little over 15 per cent had been previously admitted.

The main reasons given for leaving the almshouses are to be self-supporting and to go to relatives and friends. A considerable percentage of those reported as leaving were merely transferred to other institutions.

A study made of nearly 6000 inmates as to the length of stay in the almshouse at the time of their discharge showed that over 86 per cent stayed less than one year; more than 12 per cent between one and two years; and over one per cent more than ten years.

The short average length of stay would indicate to what extent the almshouse is used as a temporary shelter, and that the permanent inmates form a minority in the almshouse population. The periods of continuous inmacancy are somewhat longer for females.

Since the inmates of almshouses generally are of the type that remains in those institutions, this flux indicates either laxity in discipline under which they are permitted to enter and go as they see fit or else conditions in the almshouses are such that many cannot or will not endure them for any length of time.

MORTALITY

Of the more than 7000 whose names were stricken from the rolls at the almshouse during 1923, 1,331, or 18.8 per cent, died. There is a marked contrast between male and female deaths in the "out-going" group. The percentage of male deaths in the total number marked off the rolls is a little over 17; that of the females nearly 24.

Comparing the mortality rate of the almshouse inmates with that of the general population we find that it is very high—over 100 per 1,000 of the almshouse population, as against close to 15 per 1,000 in the general population.

GENERAL CONDITIONS IN OUR ALMSHOUSES

Our almshouses exhibit wide differences in equipment, in administration and in the care given to inmates. Lack of space does not permit the recording here in detail of the conditions regarding each almshouse, or discussion of the more technical aspects.

TABLE VII

Numerical Evaluation of 54 Almshouses 1922

(Scored on a Scale of 1000)

Almshouse	Standard Scale		Points Attained	
	For Each Almshouse	Total for 54 Almshouses	Actual Number	Per cent
Administration -----	125	6,750	5,015	74.3
Directors -----	50	2,700	1,825	67.6
Stewards -----	50	2,700	2,090	77.4
Employees -----	25	1,350	1,100	81.5
Records -----	125	6,750	3,915	58.0
Financial -----	50	2,700	1,530	56.7
Inmates -----	50	2,700	1,540	57.0
Vital Statistics -----	25	1,350	845	62.6
Buildings and Grounds -----	150	8,100	5,310	65.6
Light, Heat, Elevator -----	25	1,350	910	67.4
Fire Protection -----	50	2,700	1,405	52.0
Laundry, Kitchen, Basement -----	25	1,350	880	65.2
Farm -----	50	2,700	2,115	78.3
Accommodations -----	150	8,100	5,370	66.3
Sleeping Quarters -----	50	2,700	1,840	68.1
Beds and Bedding -----	25	1,350	995	73.7
Baths and Toilets -----	25	1,350	890	65.9
Cleanliness -----	25	1,350	1,050	77.8
Amusements and Recreation -----	25	1,350	595	44.1
Food -----	125	6,750	5,435	80.5
Preparation of -----	25	1,350	1,075	79.6
Quantity -----	25	1,350	1,245	92.2
Quality -----	25	1,350	1,180	87.4
Service -----	25	1,350	900	66.7
Care of -----	25	1,350	1,035	76.7
Health -----	125	6,750	4,110	60.9
Prevention of Sickness -----	25	1,350	855	63.3
Care of sick -----	50	2,700	1,585	58.7
Supervision -----	50	2,700	1,670	61.9
Sanitation -----	125	6,750	4,920	72.9
Water supply -----	25	1,350	1,055	78.1
Sewage Disposal -----	50	2,700	1,630	60.4
Garbage -----	25	1,350	1,190	88.1
General Cleanliness -----	25	1,350	1,045	77.4
Institution Activities -----	75	4,050	1,525	37.7
Occupations -----	25	1,350	555	41.1
Exercise & Recreation -----	25	1,350	490	36.3
Amusements -----	25	1,350	480	35.5
Total -----	1,000	54,000	35,600	65.9

It is of interest, to summarize here the findings of a very exhaustive survey of almshouses that the State Department of Welfare conducted during the year 1922. This survey carried on through personal visits of agents of the Welfare Department to the almshouses, went into the minutest detail with respect to the almshouse property and the service rendered. The survey was conducted upon the principle of establishing a numerical evaluation of our almshouses, scoring each almshouse on a scale of 1000 and giving each function a rating in accordance with the points actually attained.

In Table 7 is shown the summarized data for fifty-four of the larger almshouses, covering all almshouse districts except the smaller township and borough poor districts.

Considering these fifty-four almshouses as a whole, the 1922 survey figures indicate that they had attained an efficiency rating of 66 per cent at that time. Since this survey was made conditions have materially improved due to the co-operative efforts of the Welfare Department and local officials. The larger almshouses particularly are constantly improving the service they render. There are strong indications that the improvement will continue, so that the time is not far distant when Pennsylvania will be able to approach a 100 per cent record in regard to its almshouse property and care of the inmates.

CHILDREN IN ALMSHOUSES

The reports of our almshouse districts show that at the end of the year 1923 about 200 children were maintained in our almshouses, constituting about 2.5 per cent of the inmate population at that time. During 1923 about 400 children were admitted and less than fifty children were born in the almshouse. Of the 200 children in the almshouse over 56 per cent were classed as "sound in body and mind." The remaining 44 were considered to be "not sound in body and mind."

Who are the children in almshouses? The following very brief stories will not only give information as to who they are, but will illustrate the use of the almshouse for all kinds of cases, and the problems which the average steward and poor director faces in providing the solution.

Boy, age 6, born at the county home. Mother now assisting with the cooking; father in the penitentiary serving a long term sentence and five other children in institutions.

Girl, age 3, mother a widow with a large family of children cared for by agencies. Girl illegitimate. The mother again in the county home for confinement by another man.

Girl, age 3, father and mother, all in the county home because of the father's illness. He was injured and was for a long time in the hospital but after discharge was unable to work and the family were starving. The child has had infantile paralysis and is in poor health. Six year old boy is in an institution.

Girl, colored, age 14, baby born in the home. Has accused her stepfather and he is awaiting trial. The girl sent here by the Judge for confinement and to be held until case against her stepfather comes up in court.

Baby born January 1925, mother sent from Dixmont for confinement. Baby very attractive, but mother unwilling to notice it and appears to need to be returned to Dixmont.

Girl, age 15, gave birth to a colored baby. The baby died shortly after birth. The girl belongs to a Slavic family and her father does not want her to come back home.

Lovely baby, age 7 months. No one knows who the father was. Mother was a prostitute and a syphilitic; died a short time ago.

Boys, age 6 and 4. There are two older children at the detention home and a grown daughter at home. Mother is dead; father is unable to control the family.

Two small children aged 4 and 3. The mother is in the county home with cancer. The father is in jail for abuse and non-support. Boy, age 4. Has some spinal trouble and does not talk. Was adopted but foster mother died. Foster father re-married and wife would not care for boy, evidently an idiot.

Unmarried mother of 18; has a 10-months-old illegitimate child. Girl is employed in the kitchen. She cannot return home because her father will not have her there with the baby, which is a very attractive child.

It might well be asked why the almshouse, a shelter for the aged, should be used as a refuge for children.

The reasons for keeping children in almshouses might be briefly summarized as follows: There is a considerable proportion of defectives—feeble-minded, idiots etc.—for whom care is as yet not available on the outside. Indigent mothers and unmarried mothers are sent to almshouses for confinement often because of the lack of hospital facilities and sometimes because that is the easiest solution of a difficult problem.

The directors of the poor will often place normal families in the almshouse because the upkeep on the outside would be greater than the cost of maintenance in the almshouse. Some directors either have difficulty in finding suitable homes for almshouse children, or the facilities for finding such homes are lacking in the county.

The almshouse is not a satisfactory place for children, and certainly no normal children should be kept there for any length of time, because their continued presence can but have a deleterious effect upon their future. The two stories following will illustrate this point:

(1) Nancy was 14 years old when we first saw her in a county home. She had been there for 12 years and no one knew anything about her except that she had been brought in "in a pillow" when she was 2 years old. She was said to be a "cripple" but was able to care for herself, her condition being a partial paralysis of the left arm and leg, due to infantile paralysis. She had only been going to school for two years and was embarrassed because she was known there as a "home child". She is being given an opportunity for normal life in a family home and her case has demonstrated to the poor directors not only the need of accurate information, properly recorded about all children, but the possibilities of restoring almshouse children to normal home life.

(2) Johnny, a bright youngster aged 14, was in the almshouse with his mother who was in wretched health and was not expected to live. The boy went to school fairly regularly, but was seen on the streets at all hours of the night, was known to steal when he got a chance and people thought he was being taught a great deal by the men in the home with whom he associated. When it was pointed out to the mother, who wanted to keep the boy with her, that the little that was gained by her seeing the boy was lost by the boy being associated with the old chronics in the almshouse and that arrangements for his seeing his mother at regular intervals could be provided, she consented to have him placed in a home. He is now well placed, attends school regularly and is entirely cured of his anti-social tendencies.

There are still a few poor directors who can see no harm in having children in the county home, and who think that it does not make much difference. But when the question is put squarely up to them as to whether they would like to see any of their own children housed with these inmates for one night, they acknowledge that the system is a bad one. Most poor directors are whole-heartedly in favor of keeping children out of the almshouse and making adequate provisions for those now in them.

In view of the undesirability of normal children and families with normal children in the almshouse, the Department is making every effort to enforce the law, which provides that no child between the ages of two and sixteen shall remain in the almshouse longer than sixty days, unless the child is "an unteachable idiot, an epileptic, or otherwise so disabled or deformed as to render it incapable of labor or service." But the Department does not want merely to enforce the law, but aims to co-operate with the poor relief officials in helping them to solve their problems in connection with the proper placement of children.

VAGRANTS IN ALMSHOUSES

Pennsylvania almshouse reports show that 7,122 vagrants were aided in 1923 and 7,879 the year previous. Aid given in these cases means sleeping accommodations and meals.

A few of our almshouses maintain a separate tramp house away from the almshouse buildings proper, usually furnished with bare bunks or benches and a stove. Almshouses which have no separate tramp house have quarters set aside in the almshouse building, furnished similarly.

Because of the lack of separate accommodations in some almshouses tramps must be accommodated there with the other inmates. In that case they present a specially difficult problem to the almshouse administration.

The impression gained from superintendents and stewards of almshouses in regard to vagrants is that they will make little attempt to do anything with this type because of the lack of response. The steward's chief concern frequently is to "keep them moving."

Little attention has been given heretofore to the tramp problems in the almshouses. In due time the State Department of Welfare is going to make a more extensive study, which should reveal the underlying difficulties, in order to be able to present some concrete measures for dealing with the vagrant.

THE ALMSHOUSE AS A FARMING PROPOSITION

FIGURES ON FARM OPERATIONS

Our eighty-six almshouse poor districts report owning 17,300 acres of land, of which 10,390 or less than 60 per cent was under cultivation in 1923. The farming expenses amounted to \$361,475, and if all wages of farm labor were included probably would total \$500,000.

In the following paragraphs are presented some details concerning the farming operations of our almshouses. Due to the lack of reliable data these figures must not be regarded as more than estimates.

Poor farms for which fairly reliable figures were available reported total farming expenditures of \$230,120 and a value of produce of \$422,100; that is the farm expense constituted 55 per cent of the total value of produce.

Some poor farms have farm expenditures as little as 6 per cent of the value of products. In some cases the farm expenditures far exceeded the value of the produce obtained. One 500 acre county farm reported a farm expenditure of, \$56,300 and a value of produce amounting to only \$39,000; that is the farming costs were one and one-half times greater than the yield. One 200 acre farm reported spending \$4,100 and a value of farm produce of \$2,300; the farm expenses in this case represented 177 per cent of the value of the produce.

Considering thirty-eight farms having 6,627 acres under cultivation and reporting total farm expenditures of \$234,120, the farm expenditures per acre cultivated were \$35.33.

Taking into consideration the farm operation figures concerning thirty-eight almshouses having 6,985 acres under cultivation and reporting \$441,340 as value of farm and garden produce, the average yield per acre was \$63. Among the almshouse farms considered the yield per acre was as low as \$4 in one case and in another case as high as \$380.

Out of a total almshouse income of \$3,200,000 in 1923, \$177,120, only a little over 5 per cent, was recorded as income from sale of farm and garden produce.

MUST ALMSHOUSE CARE CONTINUE TO BE A FARMING PROPOSITION?

In view of the large proportion of the chronically ill and infirm in Pennsylvania almshouses, it is high time that we re-examine our ideas with respect to the relationship between agriculture and providing institutional care for old and crippled folk. At one time large farms were acquired in connection with the poorhouses under the theory that the inmates, many of whom were able-bodied or largely so, should be made to work and help contribute toward their own self-support. The poor farm was thus expected to be largely self-supporting.

Since the farming end was the most important feature of alms house management it was natural to engage farmers as superintendents or stewards of almshouses. We find therefore to-day that with notable exceptions where physicians or other superintendents well-qualified by training and long experience are in charge, the superintendents or stewards of our almshouses are farmers. They were selected in many cases, undoubtedly, because they were successful farmers, but it is obvious that knowledge of the proper care of a farm is hardly sufficient to qualify a person to take care of and promote the general welfare of the present day type of inmates.

The old and decrepit people we find in our almshouses to-day cannot do the hard field labor. Consequently the farm work is done largely by paid employes. The superintendent in his dual position of supervisor of the home and caretaker of the farm, in the nature of things, is obliged to give most of his time to overseeing the farm operations if he does not assist physically. During certain portions of the year the superintendents must devote almost their entire time to farming operations.

Obviously the superintendent or steward, even if especially qualified, has little time left in which to consider the needs of the inmates. The conclusion, therefore, is that farming operations to-day are carried on largely at the expense of the proper care of the inmates. It would be better if we assumed that a big poor farm is really no asset to the community; that the actual disadvantages far outweigh the assumed advantages.

What shall be the alternatives to almshouse farm production and to having large farms?

When all things are considered such as interest on investment, cost of farm materials, labor costs, probably it would be cheaper to buy on the outside most of the food stuffs consumed in the almshouses. There should be farming, of course, on a small scale, not with the aim of growing money crops primarily but to raise adequate quantities of food stuffs which best suit the needs of the inmates and which can be produced at the home better than purchased outside.

Small scale farming has this advantage, also, that the help of the more able-bodied inmates can be used profitably. The work will constitute at the same time an aid in occupational therapeutics.

RECREATION AND AMUSEMENTS

Not many of the almshouses provide adequate and suitable recreation facilities for their inmates or have instituted organized efforts for recreation. It is to be regretted that the recreational facilities at many of the almshouses consist of nothing more than a game of checkers and a few old newspapers and magazines. There is little else provided to keep the minds occupied, to promote happiness and cheerfulness.

The 1922 almshouse survey showed that in regard to recreation and amusements, fifty-four of our more important almshouses (not including the small township and borough poor farms) attained only 38.6 per cent of the desirable standard. This was a poor showing and although many improvements have been wrought since the time the survey was made, the percentage to-day would hardly reach more than fifty.

It is only too obvious that means of recreation must be provided suitable to the physical and mental condition of the inmates and that recreation is essential to insure a reasonable degree of satisfaction with existence. This has been duly recognized by a number of our more progressive almshouses which have provided adequate and suitable recreation. Some almshouses have interested local organizations to provide recreation and entertainments; in a few, regular moving picture releases are shown, and some have installed radios, much to the joy and happiness of the inmates.

The Central Poor District Home reports: "By way of supplying recreation and amusement we have continued through the year to have moving pictures every Tuesday and Friday nights, with our occasional entertainments given by talent from Wilkes-Barre and vicinity. In addition we have our large library which is surprisingly well patronized and two pool tables which are in constant operation."

A report of the Philadelphia Home for the indigent shows that "The blind, paralyzed and epileptic are kept amused by frequent band concerts, singing entertainments etc., which often penetrate into the depths of their solitude and give glimpses of the real living world."

In our effort to provide recreational facilities we might well emulate California, which reports:

"Recreation includes library service, which is rendered in most county institutions by the county library. In one or two of the larger counties, a library assistant visits the county hospital and almshouse regularly; a wheeled stand, resembling a teawagon, is taken through each ward or hallway and the books are given

out and returned. Books which are loaned to tuberculosis wards or other communicable disease wards are not returnable. All books returned from the county homes are fumigated before being placed on the shelves. In addition to reading matter, music and dramatic entertainments are given by various community clubs; moving picture machines form a part of the equipment of the larger almshouses. Moving pictures are appreciated by many old people whose hearing is defective. Every county hospital which receives custodial patients should have a recreation room or assembly hall where the old people may read, smoke, hold entertainments and religious services."

Regarding entertainments and amusements for the almshouse inmates, Mr. Alexander Johnson, almshouse superintendent of long standing, makes the following observation:

"Life in an institution of any kind grows monotonous, and this is especially true of life in an almshouse. Anything that will break this monotony and promote happiness and cheerfulness should be encouraged.

"Every almshouse should possess a small library of entertaining books, and by subscription or gift should regularly receive a few newspapers and magazines. The county papers will usually put the almshouse on their free list if requested, while magazines are now so cheap and popular that it is not difficult to secure a full supply. The pictures with which most of these are illustrated make them attractive to people who read with difficulty, and even the advertising pages are looked over with pleasure.

"Besides books, papers, and magazines, other forms of entertainment for the inmates should be studied. Often an inmate will be found with a fair education and a good voice who may be induced to spend an hour occasionally, in the evening, reading aloud to the others who are less accomplished. Often some member of the staff can be pressed into the service, or visitors can sometimes be induced to come regularly, either in the afternoons or evenings, for the purpose. If the almshouse is near a town or city it is often possible to get young people's societies of the churches to give pleasant entertainments. The Epworth League or the Christian Endeavor Society will frequently respond to an invitation of the sort.

"Games like checkers, dominoes, and cards should be permitted and encouraged, although gambling should, of course, be forbidden. It is easy, especially about holiday time, to get a supply of game material as well as gifts. A notice in the county paper that the superintendent is arranging a Christmas treat for the inmates and asks contributions of gifts for the old men and women will almost certainly bring a supply, especially if he mentions the sorts of games, and pipes, ribbons, combs, and other things that he would like to have. National and other holidays should also always be observed in appropriate ways."

EMPLOYMENT OF INMATES AND OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY

One of the saddest spectacles that confronts the visitor in most of the almshouses is that of hundreds of men and women sitting around unoccupied, listless and hopeless; apparently a burden to themselves and to those around them.

Employment for inmates is a phase of almshouse management that hitherto has received scant attention, and certainly not such attention as its importance as a healing factor deserves. Our 1922 survey showed in regard to facilities provided for "occupation," that fifty-

four of the larger almshouses (not including the township and borough poor farms) achieved only 41.1 per cent of the possible 100 per cent, which means that they were less than half as efficient as they could have been in providing suitable employment.

Some times well-managed institutions fail to provide suitable employment. Witness the report concerning a county home with an excellent and kind steward in charge: "There is evidence of lack of classification and no occupation of any account in the home. The day was stormy and the patients were all indoors. They were restless and gloomy."

It should be clear to all that the employment of inmates is a most important part of almshouse administration. No person physically defective but otherwise in good health should be condemned to a useless life. It is our duty to pay attention to those who are physically defective but who through special instruction could be made to do a fair amount of work and thus inculcate in them the feeling that they are not paupers, but useful citizens doing their share.

The employment of the aged is strongly recommended because of the beneficial effect it has upon them. A few hours each day devoted to labor suited to their physical strength (ability to work should be determined only after medical examination), particularly if it can be fitted into their past training or experience, brings contentment of mind and health of body to many of the aged. Even if they work slowly and at broken hours their interest and pride in their own products, which in many cases have little cash value means much to themselves. In many cases their products are of distinct value to the institution.

Contentment secured through employment will often prevent the need of applying disciplinary measures and diffuse a wholesome spirit throughout the institution.

In regard to the specific tasks that inmates could do, Mr. Johnson makes the following suggestions:

"It may be stated as a rule to which there is no exception that every inmate, except the bed-ridden ones, should have some employment during a part of every day, and the more fully the usual working hours are occupied the better. The advantage of regular work for everybody in the institution is out of all proportion to the cash value of the work itself. Yet some of the inmates of the almshouse, with the right kind of oversight and control, can be made fully to earn their own support. It is fair to use any reasonable means to induce such inmates to exert themselves and to do as much as is possible, consistent with their health.

"Usually the men are employed on the farm, in the garden, barn and stable, the roads, and at the fences. Women work in the kitchen, laundry, sewing room, etc. In assigning tasks it is well, as far as possible, to make them regular and permanent. To cut and sew carpet rags is within the power of many an old woman who might perhaps be able to do nothing else, and if this is assigned to her as a regular duty and some account is taken of what she does and some credit given her, it will conduce to her satisfaction.

"The routine domestic work of the house, and the work of the farm and the garden, feeding the stock etc., must be provided for, and can usually all be assigned as regular tasks to specially appointed inmates. This will occupy a fair proportion of the inmates time; but in most almshouses there will be a good deal of other labor available which must be employed. Rag carpets, pieced quilts, mats, basket work and a great many other manual occupations are available. No one should be neglected in the matter of assigning occupation, because of mental or bodily defect."

Pennsylvania can proudly report that there is a growing recognition of the need of useful employment for all inmates of almshouses according to their ability to work. Poor districts such as those of Allegheny, Berks, Central Poor District, Chester, Delaware, Franklin, City of Philadelphia, Venango and others—have made the greatest strides.

In the 1924 report of the Central Poor District, Mr. D. A. Mackin, superintendent, states that "fifty-eight per cent of our inmates were usefully employed at work suitable to their physical condition, on the farm, in the dairy, in the greenhouse, in the buildings weaving carpet, making mattresses, sewing, laundrywork etc. This profitable work not only is of service to the institution but tends to make the patient more contented and benefits them physically and mentally."

Dr. R. A. Schless, of the Philadelphia Home for the Indigent, reports: "We have instituted weaving machines and the caneing of chairs as an employment for the men and sewing for the women who are fit for this employment. Our weaving machines still give vent to the creative impulse that has not yet died out in aged and in the sewing and caneing rooms, the old women and old men are still able to accomplish something to contribute to society."

Vocational training should be introduced in as many of the almshouses as is possible. Vocational training has reached a point in specialization through which a task can be found fitted to almost any person's capability and need. While it would be desirable to have an instructor employed full time, some of the smaller almshouses may not be able to afford it. In such cases an instructor should be engaged for a few weeks to teach the inmates and also instruct one of the employes, who can carry on the teaching.

In connection with the employment of the almshouse inmates the following principles of occupational therapy advocated by the American Occupational Therapy Association will be of particular interest:

1. Occupational Therapy is a method for training the sick or injured by means of instruction and employment in productive occupation.
2. The objects sought are to arouse interest, courage and confidence; to exercise mind and body in healthy activity; to overcome disability; and to re-establish capacity for industrial and social usefulness.
3. In applying occupational therapy, system and precision are as important as in other forms of treatment.

4. The treatment should be prescribed and administered under constant medical advice and supervision, and correlated with the other treatment of the patient.
5. The treatment should, in each case, be specifically directed to the individual needs. .
6. Though some patients do best alone, employment in groups is usually advisable because it provides exercise in social adaption and the stimulating influence of example and comment.
7. The occupation selected should be within the patient's estimated interests and capability.
8. As the patient's strength and capability increase, the type and extent of occupation should be regulated and graded accordingly.
9. The only reliable measure of the treatment is the effect on the patient.
10. Inferior workmanship, or employment is an occupation which would be trivial for the healthy, may be attended with the greatest benefit to the sick or injured, but standards worthy of entirely normal persons must be maintained for proper mental stimulation.
11. The production of a well made, useful, and attractive article, or the accomplishment of a useful task, requires healthy exercise of mind and body, gives the greatest satisfaction, and thus produces the most beneficial effects.
12. Novelty, variety, individuality, and utility of the products enhances the value of an occupation as a treatment measure.
13. Quality, quantity and salability of the products may prove beneficial by satisfying and stimulating the patient, but should never be permitted to obscure the main purpose.
14. Good craftsmanship and ability to instruct are essential qualifications in the occupational therapist; understanding, sincere interest in the patient, and an optimistic, cheerful outlook and manner are equally essential.
15. Physical exercises, games and music are useful forms of occupational therapy, and fall under two broad heads:
 - A. Gymnastic and calisthenics that are given for their value in the patient's physical re-education, or in habit training in mental hospitals.
 - B. Recreation and play activities, such as music, games, folk dancing etc., which are provided because of their general and social value for the patients.

The Department of Welfare is actively interested in the spreading of the idea of occupational therapy among Pennsylvania's institutions. The services of the Department's instructor in occupational therapy are available to county homes and almshouses.

THE CHRONICALLY ILL AND INFIRM IN ALMSHOUSES

Even a cursory study of the type of inmates found in Pennsylvania almshouses and county homes to-day will show that the character of the inmate population has changed, from a group of largely able-bodied workers of ten years ago, to a group of old men and women, afflicted with various infirmities.

Dr. R. L. Hill, of the Allegheny County Home, states: "The character of the population of the county homes has radically changed during the last five years; many more sick and disabled

have been admitted during that period and the number of able-bodied admitted had so fallen off that it has actually become necessary to engage more employees to carry on the necessary work of the institution. In other words the almshouses had been converted into a hospital."

Dr. D. A. Mackin, superintendent of the Central Poor District Home in Luzerne County, has also observed constant change in the almshouse population from the comparatively large proportion of able-bodied ten years ago to the overwhelming proportion of the chronically ill and infirm in the institution to-day. His latest report shows that 378 patients in the Home on January 1, 1924, 357, or 94.5 per cent, were classed as physically or mentally defective, requiring hospital care and treatment.

Figures for the State as a whole recently collected by the Department of Welfare show that less than 10 per cent of the almshouse inmates are classed as able-bodied, while the 90 per cent represents the infirm, the chronically ill, and the feeble-minded. A study made of more than 3,000 defective inmates in our almshouses revealed the fact that nearly 40 per cent were classed as crippled; almost 39 per cent as feeble-minded; 10 per cent as blind and mute; almost 4 per cent as insane; and nearly 5 per cent as having two or more defects.

Dr. Ernest P. Boas, of the Montefiore Hospital for Chronic Diseases, New York City, who has made extensive studies of the chronically ill, observes that we have been in the habit of throwing all almshouse inmates into one category, giving them the label of "incurables" and assuming that their needs have been fully met by the most elementary custodial care. Consequently the care received by most of these unfortunates has been casual, haphazard and ill-suited to their needs.¹

A careful study of a large number of chronic patients indicates that they naturally group themselves into several classes and that the patients in each class present distinct institutional problems. Dr. Boas suggests the following classification as a basis for care and treatment:

Group A: Patients requiring intensive medical care for diagnosis and treatment.²

Group B: Patients needing careful nursing only.³

¹For a valuable and stimulating discussion of the problem of the chronically ill and infirm in almshouses see "The Almshouse as a Hospital for Chronic Diseases" by Ernest P. Boas, M. D., Medical Director, Montefiore Hospital for Chronic Diseases, New York City, read before the Pennsylvania Association of the Directors of the Poor and Charities and Correction, Washington, Pa., October, 1924.

²To Group A belong patients with organic disease of the heart, arteries, kidneys, diabetes mellitus, cancer or chronic arthritis. Furthermore, the custodial cases frequently develop complications, such as pneumonia, urinary infection or myocardial insufficiency, which, for the time being places them in Group A.

³To Group B belong patients whose condition is stationary and who require little medical supervision, but who, because of some physical incapacity, need careful and expert nursing care. As examples may be cited cases of inoperable carcinoma, advanced arthritis deformans, chronic osteomyelitis, paraplegia, and many neurological conditions.

Group C: Patients needing custodial care only.

A study of the patients of Montefiore Hospital, a cross-section of whom is practically identical with those of Pennsylvania almshouses, showed 46 per cent of the patients belonging to Group A; 28 per cent to Group B; and 26 per cent to Group C. In other words, 74 per cent of the patients were found to require more specialized care than can be given by a simple custodial institution.

As a result of studies made by the Department of Welfare of the physical condition of hundreds of inmates in more than a dozen almshouses in Pennsylvania, it was found that the cases of approximately 30 per cent required careful diagnosis and active intensive medical care over a long period; 27 per cent merely required good nursing; and over 43 per cent needed only a roof, clothing and food, but were otherwise able to take care of themselves.

To illustrate the types of cases falling into each group, the kind of service that is required and the possibilities of recovery, Dr. Boas cites the following:

"There are certain patients with chronic rheumatism, who, when they present themselves for treatment, are completely crippled and bedridden. Under careful and conscientious medical care, which involves the co-operation of the medical man, the orthopedic surgeon and the department of physiotherapy, their pain can be relieved, their stiff joints may be made more limber and they may regain the use of their arms and legs. Such a patient would belong to Group A. Other conditions which frequently place a patient in Group A are chronic heart and kidney disease, and asthma, to mention but a few of the more important ones.

"Here is another patient who has had 'sleeping sickness,' which has left him disabled and paralyzed. He is bedridden, he cannot feed himself, he cannot turn in bed, he cannot take care of his bodily functions. There is little we can do to improve his condition for we know that many of his nerve cells have been destroyed and can never be replaced. Yet, if we leave him in a place where he can receive little attention, where he is waited on by an ignorant and unskilled personnel, we know that it is but a matter of a few weeks or months possibly before he will develop bedsores, and will waste away from slow starvation because he is so difficult to feed. He belongs in our Group B. Experience has shown that such a patient needs skilled nursing care under the direction of conscientious physicians.

"The class of purely custodial patients, or Group C, may be represented by a patient who has had a stroke, with paralysis of one side of the body, with sufficient recovery to walk about and take care of himself; or by a patient whose heart is so badly damaged that, although it will serve him while he is kept quietly in an institution, as soon as he is thrown on his own resources and thrust into poor economic surroundings, it is no longer adequate and quickly gives way and becomes insufficient. You see, therefore, that each of these patient types places different demands on institutional resources."

How do we meet the medical and nursing problems in our almshouses at the present time?

There are great variations among our county homes and almshouses in the care bestowed upon the sick and those needing custodial care. Some of our larger institutions have fairly well equipped

hospital departments with facilities for surgical care and nursing by trained nurses. In others there is proper infirmary care for the feeble and sick, with trained attendants; while still others have a room or rooms set aside for the care of the sick, with more or less efficiently trained attendants.

In most of our almshouses, however, the sick and the diseased occupy the same quarters with other inmates, much to the discomfort of both. It often happens in almshouses in which little or no nursing care is provided that patients take to their beds and practically no medical attention is given them. Sometimes the sick are left to the care of the more able-bodied inmates, who are themselves often unfit physically and mentally to do such nursing work, with the result that the patients are neglected and occasionally mistreated.

It should be set down here categorically that there is no almshouse or county home in our State so small that it does not need the services of a person who has had some nurse's training, and in the larger institutions the employment of an efficiently trained, registered, graduate nurse is imperative.

Brief descriptions of the impressions of our agents after visiting a number of almshouses providing good medical care and nursing follow:

Central Poor District. Retreat Home and Hospital has a fully-equipped hospital and has a full time resident physician and two graduate nurses.

All new admissions are given full physical examinations within twenty-four hours after admission. The doctor is making a routine medical examination of all inmates, beginning with those admitted a long time ago. Many of these, although able to work, were found in need of medical care. Some had to be put to bed and others were given work suited to their physical condition. The doctor is classifying all epileptics and locomotor ataxia cases as Class A patients.

One man who was working was found, on routine examination, to have a blood pressure of two hundred and fifty. He was placed in bed and under treatment at once.

Another patient whose diagnosis was paralysis agitans has responded to treatment and is showing marked improvement.

They are having their Wasserman tests made in Philadelphia laboratories, but expect to have laboratory equipment of their own as soon as possible. They are arranging with the Polyclinic Hospital to get Salvarsan for their indigent cases free.

No active tubercular patients are kept at Retreat. Patients suitable for State sanatoria care are maintained at White Haven at the expense of the Central Poor District until time of admission.

The Philadelphia Home for the Indigent has a number of infirmaries or little sick rooms with two beds each, caring for ten men and ten women. There are four trained nurses on duty and two resident physicians, one male and one female. If the nurses report that any of the inmates appear to be ill, they are seen by the doctors and placed in one of the infirmary rooms. If their illness lasts more than a few days, they are transferred to the Philadelphia General Hospital. There are usually several transfers each day, and the average is about six hundred patients yearly sent to the Philadelphia General Hospital from the Home for the Indigent.

All indigent tubercular patients in the Philadelphia General Hospital are sent to the Home for the Indigent when sputum is negative. All patients diagnosed active tuberculars at the home are sent to the Philadelphia General Hospital until sputum is negative.

Delaware County Home has a full time graduate nurse and has transformed two additional wards into infirmaries, thus providing adequately for the sick of their present population.

Westmoreland County Almshouse. Doctor comes to the home every day and on call in emergencies. There are four practical nurses on the women's side, three on the men's side. One of each of these on duty at night.

Dauphin County Home. Very good medical care is given the inmates in the parts or place reserved for the sick. There is one registered nurse and one practical nurse, and very few patients needing much nursing care. There are three venereal disease cases isolated in the back wing. In the tubercular building there are only five patients, one of these bedfast. They use the city hospitals for all of their acute medical patients.

Berks County Home. Doctor visits daily and on call. There is no question but what the patients receive good medical care. There are three graduate nurses, two on day duty and one on night duty and a man orderly who looks after light bedfast patients in a special ward, providing for the incontinent cases. All patients needing glasses are provided with them free of charge, through the kindness of a local optician. All major operations are preformed at the hospital, as are all maternity cases, the doctor being unwilling to run the risk of infection by having maternity cases cared for in the almshouse.

That it is absolutely essential to provide the right kind of medical and nursing service the following typical report relating to one county home will show:

"In the women's ward there is a practical nurse who does not appear to be a very capable person and whose attitude toward some of the patients is unsympathetic, particularly toward an old woman, a paralytic, who is in a little room off the ward. This patient has the use of only one hand and one foot, but because she soils her bed and gets her clothing into the rubber bedpan, they have tied her foot to the foot of the bed. This seems an unnecessary hardship on a person so afflicted. She had a newspaper which had been sent to her, which was tied with a string. She was calling for help in untying the string and the nurse paid no attention to her. When agent untied the string the nurse complained that she would soon tear the paper in little pieces and give them more work to clean it up."

A graduate nurse would have a different attitude toward a person in this woman's condition.

It is to be regretted very much that similar reports could be made about many almshouses.

THE HOSPITALIZED ALMSHOUSE

The fact that most of our present day inmates are sick and helpless and many of them without mental capacity—and this is the type for which we shall be required to provide most care in the future—should move us to inquire whether the almshouse has accommodated itself to this change in its population, and whether the facilities that were adequate in former years are adequate to give proper service to its present charges.

A fundamental fallacy in the institutional care of the aged has been the assumption that their needs were all alike and that the situation could be met by a simple custodial care. It is evident that the mingling of the old people with medical and surgical patients, even though these also be old, is a hardship to all concerned. They require different types of accommodations, as well as different quality of care.

The county homes or almshouses in Pennsylvania as they stand to-day, with exceptions noted later, are not equipped to handle the type of population which they now find within their walls. It is very evident that the inmates no longer present a problem of farm management, but a distinct hospital problem. The time has come when in the interest of the public welfare county homes must become county hospitals. There must be physicians instead of farm hands, and nurses as well as matrons and attendants. There must be proper hospital equipment and provision for isolation of contagious disease, there must be provision for the care of cases of incurable disease, and there must continue to be that unit in which the handicapped, while still in fair health, may be maintained at less cost.

The changed type of almshouse population, the inadequacy of our present methods and the need for the immediate hospitalization of the almshouse is receiving recognition from many of our poor relief officials. The following counties or poor districts either have completely hospitalized their almshouse, have made more or less adequate medical and nursing provisions for the chronically ill and infirm; or are actively engaged in creating such provisions: Allegheny, Berks, Blair, Central Poor District, Dauphin, Delaware, Fayette, Lancaster, Lebanon, Montgomery, the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Schuylkill and Scranton Poor District.

The Central Poor District Home at Retreat probably has made the greatest strides in the hospitalization of the almshouse home, and Mr. Mackin, the superintendent, is on the alert to sense the growing need and to extend this hospital service. After more than twenty-five years of service as superintendent of the home he has come to the conclusion that we have reached a point in the development of the work of the almshouse when if we are to care properly for the people committed to these institutions many changes must be made in present methods. Temporary improvements in buildings and methods are not sufficient, and we must meet the situation in a permanent way by creating a hospital department of the almshouse for scientific treatment of chronic diseases. The hospitalization of the almshouse is especially to be desired because the latest developments in the diagnosis and treatment of chronic disorders have shown that many can be treated successfully and cures accomplished.

Dr. Hill, of the Allegheny County Home, after years of study devoted to the problem of the hospitalization of the almshouse, has arrived at the same conclusion.

The question naturally arises: What should be the plan, equipment and personnel of the hospitalized almshouse?

Mr. Mackin makes the following recommendations:

- (1) "A full time resident physician for the almshouse, in order to insure the study and individual attention needed by the patients.
- (2) "Adequate clinical and laboratory equipment necessary to the treatment and diagnosis of chronic diseases, following out the latest findings of medical science along these lines.
- (3) "Increase in nursing staff by the addition of trained nurses.
- (4) "An elevator of sufficient size to admit a stretcher case."

Dr. Hill's recommendations are as follows:

(1) "Equipment need not be elaborate. A dispensary, small, and fully equipped; operating room not necessary if the almshouse is within an hour's drive of one or more large general hospitals. Nurses, of course, must be provided, but one good graduate nurse at a decent salary can supervise many bed patients.

(2) "No new almshouses should be erected without hospital equipment capable of handling from 20 to 50 per cent of the estimated capacity. No new building should be erected and labelled "Almshouse". They should all be called, from now on, County Hospitals."

He further comments that the treatment of probably 90 per cent of these cases is purely medical. The surgical cases are infrequent and the call for major operations very infrequent. For this reason an elaborate and expensive operating room is not necessary, especially when a hospital can be reached by ambulance in thirty to sixty minutes. A well equipped dressing room is necessary, however, as these operative cases are returned at the earliest possible moment and further dressings may be required.

Dr. Boas suggests separation of the custodial from the hospital patients because the former need merely a home, where they may obtain their meals and lodging and perhaps some assistance with their personal needs, such as dressing, washing, and feeding. The cost of providing custodial care is much less than for hospital service.

Group "A" patients, he believes, require a complete hospital organization, with an attending staff, on which all of the specialities are represented, together with skilled nursing and dietetic management. Physiotherapy and occupational therapy are important adjuncts.

Group "B" cases, in his opinion, do not require the constant supervision of a physician, but they should command an excellent nursing service. Adequate care cannot be given by maids and practical nurses, but only by persons well trained in the art of nursing and inspired by the ideals of their profession.

In an attempt to convert our "almshouses" into "county hospitals" the following observation of Dr. Boas will be of value:

"The larger almshouses—those with 200 or more inmates—will have to face the issue and provide complete hospital wards with all the necessary personnel and equipment for such patients as may need them. They should figure that probably 30 to 50 per cent of their population should be hospitalized at least part of the time. Every new inmate should first be admitted to the hospital ward where he should be carefully studied and treated. No case should be considered incurable until every effort at rehabilitation has failed. If, after mature study, the physicians decide that the case is purely custodial in character and that he does not need expert nursing care, he may be transferred to the custodial division. One must always remember, however, that these custodial patients are apt again to become sick and that at the first sign of illness they should be retransferred to the hospital division. No patient should be allowed to die in the custodial division. A fatal illness always implies the need of hospital care."

The smaller almshouses have a more difficult problem, and in proposing a solution Dr. Boas points out that it involves a high degree of abnegation and sacrifice. He says:

"The institution of a proper hospital service for these patients is so costly that the very small institutions cannot afford to install one. You must disabuse yourselves at once of the idea that the hospital needs of your patients can be met by casual visits once a day by a physician from an allied institution. These chronic patients offer the most difficult problems both for diagnosis and for treatment and require a well-organized hospital service for proper study. It seems to me that the only way out will be found in the consolidation of a number of the small institutions into larger units, in which the many problems of medical care can be adequately handled. Whether such larger institutions should be under the joint auspices of several poor districts, or whether they should be under state control, is of secondary importance. The vital point of issue is that one large institution must displace several smaller ones."

RECONSTRUCTION POSSIBILITIES WITH ALMSHOUSE INMATES

A good many of us have been in the habit of regarding our almshouse inmates as hopeless derelicts for whom only shelter and care need be provided, and on whom all reconstructive efforts would be wasted. This is very unfortunate, for many can be found in our almshouses who have lost arm, leg or eyesight through some accident in youth, who have spent years of idleness in the almshouses, when occupational therapy and some specialized vocational training might have given them the means to earn a livelihood on the outside. There will also be found mental patients whose condition can be improved if a cure cannot be effected.

The following stories culled at random will illustrate reconstruction possibilities with almshouse inmates:

The first story, that of Andy, is particularly pathetic and illuminating of the mind of some of our poor relief officials who in their anxiety to economize would have jeopardized the promising future of a perfectly normal human being who

had the misfortune to be poor. Andy's return to self-support would have meant the expenditure at one time of \$400. The poor directors, clinging strictly to the idea that the support to be granted by them should not exceed the almshouse costs, offered only a small contribution, entirely inadequate to meet the need. The pathetic feature was the fact that the poor directors already had spent almost \$500 for his two years' support in the almshouse, and they were perfectly willing to keep him there for the rest of his life rather than risk a one-time expenditure of \$400.

Andy was 13 years old when his mother died of "flu"; his sister, Mary, age 15, kept house and mothered the family of four younger brothers and sisters, and the father earned the family living as a miner. Six months after the mother died the father was killed in a mine accident. Being father and mother and managing on the limited income from workmen's compensation proved too much for Mary, so she applied to the trust officer administering the compensation to have the children placed. Relatives with a large family made room for Stanley, the baby; Katie and Rose were placed in the orphanage, and Andy was placed on a farm. There he was overworked and received no pay until he was 16, when the compensation ceased. He complained about his poor treatment to the trust officer, who believed his story, but did not know how to find a good home and lacked the time to supervise Andy after he had been placed. There were no social agencies that the trust officer knew of in the county, so he just heard the story and after expressing his sorrow for the boy, dropped the subject.

Andy wanted work and wages, and as he was 16, he found a job in the mines, and lived in a minors' boarding house. Shortly after this, he became ill with typhoid fever, was treated in a local hospital, but was found to have a T. B. condition in his left ankle. Amputation of the foot above the ankle was advised and Andy was admitted for this at one of the large hospitals in an adjoining town. When ready for discharge he was given a pair of crutches and sent out to make his way as best he could. There was no Social Service at this hospital, and no one to help him to plan for the future. The only friend he knew was the kind but uninformed trust officer, who could see nothing for Andy but the country home. The boy stayed there two years. The carpenter or wheelwright made him a clumsy peg-leg and he was rapidly losing the power of motion in the knee which the surgeons had tried so hard to save. The school was two miles away and he was a big boy and far back in his studies. He was not compelled, so did not attend school, but spent his time whittling sticks, reading old newspapers and sitting around listening to the conversation of the inmates, the typical almshouse old men.

A newcomer, a deaf boy, near Andy's age, suggested and helped effect a runaway, then suggested a robbery as a means of securing funds. Andy would not consent to this and they parted company; the deaf boy to carry out his idea and to land in jail, Andy to "freight it" to a distant city in another State, where, through application for employment he was turned over to a social worker. Through co-operation with the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare and the poor authorities he was returned to the County Home. Plans for his education and rehabilitation were made through the Department of Labor and Industry. A local agency provided a good artificial leg and supplemented the allowance made by the directors of the poor for board, lodging and clothing.

Andy had had a raw deal all along the line and could easily have drifted into a criminal career. Opportunities for service came at the time of the mother's death; again at the father's death, the breaking up of the family home; the critical moment when he left the hospital, and when he was admitted to the county home.

Here is an entirely different type of case showing reconstruction possibilities:

Bessie had been "queer" for some time and her married sisters and brothers had tried in all kinds of ways to deal with her "queer spells". She had a lover and was very happy until she learned that he smoked cigarettes. She and her family considered this a very bad habit and undertook to reform him. He refused to be reformed and left Bessie and she soon became "melancholy". She wandered around the country, would not look at nor talk to anyone. Her relatives decided that she needed institutional care and placed her in the county home. For two years she occupied a room alone, took no part nor interest in anything, was given three meals a day, but no mental examination nor treatment was accorded her until the Department of Welfare made plans for her care in a State hospital for mental diseases. She has shown marked improvement since her admission. The directors of the poor said they knew something should be done for her, but did not know how to go about doing it.

WHAT SHOULD THE MODERN ALMSHOUSE BE LIKE?

FACTS EVERY CITIZEN SHOULD KNOW

Asking the question "What should the modern almshouse be like?" of the average citizen and taxpayer, one is likely to find that he will receive few suggestions on this score, and that the general public knows little about almshouse conditions. The average citizen either is impressed with the big structure of the county home and concludes that the inmates must be well taken care of, or when the almshouse of his community is not so well spoken of he is likely to think that the inmates are of a type for which particularly good accommodations need hardly be made.

It may not be necessary to point out here that the public-spirited and kind-hearted citizen should inform himself regarding the almshouse question which is a part of the great social problem of poverty. It should be his concern to see that not only shall there be an economical administration and comfort and happiness secured to the inmates, but he will make certain that the almshouse shall be a benefit and not a detriment to the community in which he lives.

Being rather removed from the problem some of us have lost sight of what the functions and work of the almshouse should be. It will be well to refresh our memory by citing two authorities. Mr. D. A. Mackin, superintendent of the Central Poor District at Retreat, declares: "The work of caring for the poor is the main object of the almshouse; whether the individual's misfortune has been brought upon him by his own thriftlessness or misdeeds, whether he be the foreigner lured to this country in hopes of greater industrial wage and who is suddenly pauperized by reason of mine accident, whether it be the aged couple who in their youth have given their all to the rearing of a family only to be deserted by them

in their later years. That is the work of the almshouse: to feed, clothe, and provide an atmosphere of comfort and contentment, to fill the void that exists in their lives, whether by reason of their own foolishness in early life or by the hand of fate”.

Another lifelong student of the almshouse problems, Dr. Edward T. Devine, feels that even after all removals from the almshouse and all reforms within it, it still remains “the shelter of the most pathetic and most appealing of all public charges. The feeble old men and women, the chronic invalids, querulous and crotchety though they may be, outliving their usefulness, surviving their children and grandchildren, cherishing in their infirmities the memory of their active years, are yet entitled because of their need to sympathy, to the best of physical care, to the social pleasures which they can enjoy.

“Those whose infirmities are so great, whose friends are so few, whose misfortunes are so overwhelming, that they come to this refuge, are not beyond the need for respect and affection. They are not beyond the capacity to respond to them. Some of them should be helped to go elsewhere. Some of them should have little luxuries or comforts, suggested by their particular infirmities or their earlier lives. All of them should have the opportunity to make on the public mind the impression which a knowledge of their collective life would make.”

CHANGE IN ATTITUDE TOWARD “POOR HOUSE”

We have pointed out that the almshouse population has been gradually changing from the more able-bodied to the aged helpless, the chronically ill and infirm. Our citizens are gradually becoming aware of the change and of the changes that it entails in our almshouse administration,—in personnel, equipment and methods.

Along with the spreading of knowledge of the needs of the modern almshouse there can be observed a significant change in the attitude toward the old-fashioned “poor house”. In connection with the recent hospitalization of the Dauphin County Home, the Harrisburg Telegraph remarked:

“The Dauphin County poor house has been transformed. It is now the Dauphin County Hospital. Thank heaven for that! The people who find in that institution a haven of rest will be no longer stigmatized by the misnomer ‘pauper’.

“They are there because they are physically or mentally incapacitated. They are not shiftless, careless loafers. Most of them would be only too happy to be given the strength of mind and body to go forth and earn their way in the world. Theirs is not a happy lot at best, but to add the sting of ‘pauper’ to their misery is an injustice of which a public that provides the wherewithal for their keep ought to have been ashamed a long time ago.

“The step is one of which the county as a whole may well be proud and of which the voters will thoroughly approve. The name ‘poor house’ struck terror to the

heart. It was the symbol of utter failure. Over its gate was hung the invisible sign 'Abandon hope all ye who enter here'. But 'hospital' is a word of another meaning. The very name gives rise to thoughts of mercy and of hope; of kindly assistance rather than cold charity, and if nothing else had been done the mere change of name alone would have been well worth while."

THE INTEREST OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

The medical profession is taking an active interest in the almshouse problem, as is evidenced by an article printed recently in *The Atlantic Medical Journal*:

"There is need for the most skilled care of those unfortunates who are inmates of our county homes, frequently through illness or misfortune over which they had absolutely no control. Many of them are subject for medical care. All of them are subjects for sympathetic understanding that they may have a chance to 'come back'. If too handicapped for industrial conditions outside, they frequently can be taught to perform certain kinds of work around the institution or its farm, which would cover their living expense and enable them to remain on a self-supporting and self-respecting basis.

"The words, almshouse and poorhouse, have a gruesome reputation to live down. Remove the stigma associated with the almshouse. Connect it with, or convert it into a general hospital, and call it the County General Hospital or other appropriate name and get rid of the old terms. Let the medical profession of each county make it one of the prime objects of its society to remove the sentiment of disgrace attached to these institutions; to place the professional service of these institutions in the hands of physicians skilled not only in their profession but with the idealism to regard a public hospital as a public utility.

"In many counties it will mean a saving of money to the taxpayers if these county institutions, usually advantageously situated on fine farms, can be managed as high class hospitals and homes, maybe in conjunction with existing hospitals. These county hospitals could be run in conjunction with city hospitals intended only for acute medical and surgical cases, thus relieving the usually overcrowded acute hospitals."

INDISPENSABLE EQUIPMENT AND METHODS

Indications are that in spite of the growth of specialized provisions for the group of people who do not ordinarily belong in the almshouse and who could be cared for through other means, there will still be a considerable number of worn-out and feeble men and women left for whom an asylum in the form of the hospitalized County Home will be needed. If this is the case it behooves us to see to it that such institutions are changed in buildings and methods to serve their proper functions, in the interest not only of the inmates who are to benefit, but in the interest of the taxpayers who should have an adequate return for their money.

The Department of Welfare has developed certain ideas regarding equipment and methods which it considers indispensable to proper care to the aged and the chronically ill and infirm; and which if

provided will greatly add to the comfort of the inmates and make for economy in the Home. A few of the more salient ones are given here:¹

Location. The location of the home should be in the country, not too far from the centers of population it is to serve. Accessibility is of vital importance, not only to bring the expense of transportation to a minimum, but to make easy that general public knowledge of public institutions and affairs which is one of the safeguards against abuse.

It is suggested that the county home have only a limited amount of land, because it has been demonstrated that officials cannot operate farms successfully with a large percentage of the chronically ill. A small tract of land, possibly from ten to twenty or thirty acres, will be ample to provide for orchards, gardens, leave small pasture for live stock, and provide for effects in landscape gardening about the buildings. The lessened responsibility due to having to care for and supervise a smaller tract of land in connection with the Home will enable the Superintendent or Steward to centralize his attention upon the care of the patients.

The Building. The important feature is, not the facade. The Directors of the Poor should not wish to have the building regarded as a monument to themselves, nor to the architect, nor yet a show place for the county. Their aim should be to have a comfortable, substantial, and economical home for a number of old or feeble persons. The excellence of the floor plan, therefore, is of more importance than the front elevation.

The essential points to notice are classification, which includes complete sex separation; abundance of sunlight and fresh air, correct proportion of floor space to the various uses, convenience of access for the administration to every part of the house, and the comfort and convenience for all the inmates.

Provision must be made to keep together the husband and wife who have traveled the long trail together and who have come down to the twilight of their days without the funds to keep their little home together. Nothing can be more cruel than to separate them in the far flung wings of the poorhouse.

Porches and Veranda. There should be ample porches and verandas which may be made to add to the attractive appearance of the house, while they are pleasant and even necessary addition to its accommodations. They will afford convenient and accessible place for the convalescents to enjoy the fresh air. If, as usually happens, there are consumptives to provide for, the verandas of the infirmary may be fitted up as sleeping quarters for them.

¹Some of the recommendations set down here are taken from an excellent little book "The Almshouse, Construction and Management" by Alexander Johnson which should be read by every poor relief official and by every citizen interested in the problem.

Sleeping Quarters. For cleanliness, ventilation, economy of first cost, ease of supervision and other reasons, dormitories containing four, six, twelve, or even more beds are so far preferable to small single bedrooms that they should be used as far as practicable. In large dormitories it is practicable to screen the beds, when necessary, in such a way as to give the effect of privacy. If the screens are light and easily moved they interfere but little with the advantages which accrue from the dormitory plan. For the small proportion of inmates who need segregation, single bedrooms should be provided.

Dinning Room. In the dining room as everywhere in an institution with a variety of inmates, classification is important; and convenient management of the room depends primarily upon its furniture.

The tables should be substantial and not too large, the old fashioned long tables with seats for twenty or more on each side being objectionable for many reasons, chiefly because of the impossibility of proper classification. The number at a table should be either four, six, or eight.

Perhaps there should be such classification to permit old couples to group together, possibly through a division of the woman's dining room screened off for aged couples.

Supervisory Officials. There must also be a change in our attitude toward the type of person to administer our almshouses. In choosing our almshouse superintendent or steward the chief consideration should be not whether he has been a successful farmer, but has he had experience in dealing with old and sometimes decrepit human beings; will he be able to meet the many and exacting duties required of the modern almshouse superintendent? In the larger almshouse it may be advisable to have physicians as superintendents. In the smaller, graduate nurses might well perform duties required.

Control of admission and discharges is necessary to weed out those not properly belonging to our almshouse, so as to give proper care and treatment for the indigent aged and infirm who expect to be continual residents.

It may also be advisable to investigate applicants for admission to find out in the interest of the taxpayers whether whole support or partial support of the inmates may be obtained from those legally responsible.

Classification. No one part of almshouse administration has more to do with order and comfort than the proper classification of the inmates. Medical examination on admission is necessary to pre-

vent the spread of infectious disease, to detect serious physical disability requiring treatment, and to classify the inmate as to his ability to work.

There must be some separation provided for the various types of inmates, the insane, feeble-minded, blind and deaf and dumb, so that each class may receive proper care.

Among the remaining aged and infirm there must also be a certain classification. Slight observation of those who expect to be continual residents will show that they present by no means a homogeneous class. Uniformity of economic condition, the facts that all are alike poor and dependent, does not make them alike socially nor justify absolute uniformity of treatment; and the administration that does not distinguish between the victims of misfortune and the victims of vice, cannot be just to either class.

In many of our almshouses, and notably in the small rural communities, much of the population will be constant for many years. For such people everything possible should be done to make the almshouse really a "home for the aged and infirm", and they should especially be spared association with the unruly or vicious. It is quite feasible to group them together at the tables in the dining room, to have different sitting rooms and assign places to them there, and in other ways relieve them of the affliction of congenial and coarse or vicious association.

Food must be varied in composition and contain a due proportion of the elements which go to build up the human body. How to feed people in such a way as to satisfy their appetite and keep them in perfect health at the smallest cost and serve the food in an attractive way, should be the concern of every superintendent and steward. In a large institution it is well worth while to employ a trained dietitian for the purpose. In the ordinary small or middle-sized almshouse the matron or superintendent must give personal attention to the study of the diet.

Care of the Sick. Through the zeal and idealism of some of our poor directors, superintendents and physicians, widespread efforts are being made to convert the almshouse into a general hospital, not only for the best possible care of the aged and infirm who may be inmates; but also for the care of those chronic cases, contagious disease cases, venereal and tubercular cases that cannot be cared for in most of our smaller city hospitals.

The problem of the hospitalization of the almshouse has already been discussed somewhat in detail in the section dealing with the chronically ill and infirm.

We should like to point out here once more that from 30 to 50 per cent of the total population should be provided with hos-

pital care. That means that from one-third to one-half of the institution must be given over to bed patients. There must be some operating facilities, dispensary, utility room and diet kitchen. Small, quiet rooms off the hospital wards must also be provided for very ill patients, or for noisy senile or irritable patients; for those with open wounds, bed sores, and perhaps for dying patients.

Bed facilities should be those of ordinary hospitals, but provision should be made for air beds or water beds, beds that can be cranked up for changing the position of patients and other special appliances for comfort and cure.

The smaller almshouses in which complete hospitalization would be extremely difficult nevertheless must make suitable provisions for the chronically ill and infirm. There should be infirmaries or sick wards. For any but the smallest institutions, infirmaries should be subdivided into a large ward, which may hold from four to ten beds, and a small adjoining room suitable for a single patient.

No acute cases should be treated in the almshouse if it is possible to avoid it. General hospitals should care for cases of syphilis in the first and second stages and all other diseases, injuries, etc. Gonorrhea should never be treated in the almshouse.

Occupational Therapy. Some occupation suitable to the strength and intelligence is necessary for almshouse inmates, because of the salutary effects upon the inmates attitude; to secure contentment and as an aid to health.

Discipline and Complaints. In considering the necessity of good order it must always be remembered that it is much easier to adapt the almshouse to the ideas of the inmates than to adapt the inmates to the standards that an almshouse ought to maintain. Hence the value of good discipline, which does not mean severity, but does mean comfort, order, and serenity for administration and inmates.

In all institutions, no matter how well conducted, where inmates are feeble, old, or defective, a certain amount of complaint is normal and to be expected. To listen to such complaints with kindness and courtesy, and a degree of sympathy; to correct any error, no matter how slight; to explain the impossibility of consenting to unreasonable requests and to grant all that are reasonable, is a part of the business of the institution.

The Services of Interested People. Various services to county hospital patients by citizens may be arranged for through women's auxiliaries, church, fraternal and other social and civic organizations. They may read for patients, provide delicacies such as fruit, jams, preserves and other comforts and frequently provide entertainments, music, automobile excursions and other attentions, and thus give a personal touch, which adds to the comfort and cheer of aged and infirm or sick patients.

Prison Labor may be used successfully for general work about the buildings and ground and farm. It may be used for remodeling old buildings and erecting new ones; for building roads and paving walks; and the many other odd jobs.

Prison Labor Goods. A considerable variety of goods which will stand the test of comparison are now manufactured by prison labor. Articles such as brushes, shoes, suits, shirts, socks, rugs, mattresses, gauze and cotton cloth and many other articles are used by our almshouses with good results. Our almshouses will buy prison labor goods in increasing quantities when they realize that by patronizing prison labor goods they are aiding in the restoration of prisoners to useful citizenship.

Records. As no business house of any size would do without a bookkeeping system to record business transactions, so almshouses must have an adequate bookkeeping system to give an account of their stewardship not only over the financial side of almshouse operation, but over their human charges. It is good business to know how productive the institution is and the actual cost of maintenance. The public should know what human problems the present day almshouse is facing.

The Department of Welfare considers the following records as indispensable to efficient almshouse management. Sample forms are available upon request. (1) Permanent book of admissions and discharges, containing all the information regarding inmates, with an alphabetical card index for the larger institution. (2) A daily journal in which is recorded every important event that occurs. (3) Itemized record of purchases made and all other expenditures classified as to kind. (4) Record of food consumed in the almshouse. (5) Record of farm operations including a record of all products produced on the farm and in the garden.

District Hospital Homes. Many of our smaller almshouse districts are desirous of providing adequate hospital equipment for their inmates, but find that the general cost and the overhead costs would be a heavy charge upon their resources.

They have come to realize that the only solution is in the erection of a district almshouse or district hospital, by which a number of contiguous counties will combine for the purpose of providing hospital care for their chronically ill and infirm. They feel that by pooling the resources of several counties, medical and nursing facilities can be provided which will measure up to the best standards. A competent staff can be secured and general economy and efficiency obtained.

CHART E

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

OUTDOOR RELIEF EXPENDITURES 1910-1923

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL AMOUNT</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>	
1910	\$ 636,065		37,655
1911	530,435		37,763
1912	518,684		33,311
1913	519,968		33,672
1914	625,090		51,311
1915	631,842		43,035
1916	597,478		36,118
1917	491,056		36,901
1918	739,873		33,743
1919	902,024		29,644
1920	943,636		42,030
1921	1,066,063		46,194
1922	1,103,410		50,858
1923	1,101,372		33,781

AMOUNTS SHOWN REPRESENT OUTDOOR RELIEF
EXPENDITURES OF ALMSHOUSE DISTRICTS ONLY.

FIGURES AT END OF BARS REPRESENT NUMBERS
IN RECEIPT OF OUTDOOR RELIEF.

V. OUTDOOR RELIEF

WHAT IS OUTDOOR RELIEF?

Outdoor relief as carried on in Pennsylvania to-day means chiefly the supplementing of an insufficient income through grants in groceries and other aids in kind. It is given universally by our poor districts, with the exception of the city of Philadelphia, where it has been abolished entirely, and the city of Pittsburgh, which gives outdoor relief in quarantine cases only.

OUTDOOR RELIEF EXPENDITURES

The outdoor relief situation in Pennsylvania for a 14-year period, from 1910-1923, is summarized in Table 8:

TABLE VIII

Total and Per Capita Outdoor Relief
Amounts and Number of Persons Relieved
By Years 1910-1923 inclusive

Year	Amount of Outdoor Relief	Number of Persons in Receipt of Outdoor Relief	Per Capita Amount of Outdoor Relief
1910	\$ 636,065 53	37,655	\$16 89
1911	530,435 99	37,763	14 05
1912	518,684 93	33,311	15 57
1913	519,968 34	33,672	15 44
1914	625,090 07	51,311	12 18
1915	631,841 68	43,035	14 68
1916	597,477 86	36,118	16 54
1917	491,056 09	36,901	13 31
1918	739,872 72	33,743	21 93
1919	902,024 46	29,644	30 43
1920	943,636 40	42,020	22 45
1921	1,066,063 00	46,194	23 08
1922	1,103,410 49	50,858	22 12
1923	1,101,372 10	33,781	32 60

The figures presented should be used with these reservations: (1) The number of almshouse districts reporting varies from year to year, and in no one year do the totals given include 100 per cent of the almshouse districts which should have furnished reports. (2) Not too much reliance is to be placed upon the figures as to the number of persons in receipt of outdoor relief since there are decided variations in the manner in which the different poor districts interpret this question on the report blank, keep their record and report to the Welfare Department.

Taken by and large, these figures show that during the last ten years we have spent \$8,201,844.87 on outdoor relief. In the year 1923 alone there was expended \$1,101,372.10, and if all poor districts granting outdoor relief were included the total amount probably would reach \$1,360,000.

The table indicates also that Pennsylvania, in the last ten years has been spending increasing amounts for public outdoor relief. Comparing the total amount spent in 1914 with the expenditures in 1923, ten years later, we note an increase of 76.2 per cent. The per capita figures indicate that this increase in the total outdoor relief expenditures is not wholly due to increased demands upon outdoor relief. It is due more to an increase in the size of the grants to individual families. The per capita amount of outdoor relief was 167.7 per cent higher in 1923 than was the per capita amount of relief in 1914.

RECIPIENTS OF OUTDOOR RELIEF

Reports made to the Department of Welfare show that of the 33,781 persons in receipt of relief in 1923, 3,734, or 11.1 per cent, were men; 8,666, or 25.7 per cent, were women; and 21,357, or 63.2 per cent, were children.

The total number of recipients of outdoor relief during 1923, including those districts from which no reports were received, may be estimated as 45,000, of whom 5,000 were men, 11,500 women and 28,500 children.

Table No. 9 shows the total number of men, women, and children in the families who have been in receipt of outdoor relief during the last fourteen years:

TABLE IX

Men, Women and Children Recipients of Outdoor Relief 1910-1923

Year	Men	Women	Children	Total
1910 -----	5,554	9,632	22,469	37,655
1911 -----	5,469	9,557	22,737	37,763
1912 -----	4,877	8,276	20,158	33,311
1913 -----	4,843	9,088	19,741	33,672
1914 -----	7,730	12,821	30,760	51,311
1915 -----	6,714	10,991	25,330	43,035
1916 -----	4,582	10,002	21,534	36,118
1917 -----	4,725	10,083	22,093	36,901
1918 -----	3,602	9,662	20,470	33,733
1919 -----	3,134	6,050	20,460	29,644
1920 -----	4,230	10,100	27,700	42,030
1921 -----	6,379	11,011	28,833	46,194
1922 -----	6,190	12,655	32,013	50,858
1923 -----	3,734	8,666	21,357	33,781

CHART F

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE**OUTDOOR RELIEF**[POOR DISTRICTS REPORTING OVER \$35,000
EXPENDED FOR OUTDOOR RELIEF IN 1923.]

<u>POOR DISTRICT</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
BEAVER COUNTY	\$ 35,939
NORTHAMPTON CO.	\$ 36,795
FAYETTE COUNTY	\$ 37,543
SCRANTON POOR DISTRICT	\$ 38,684
SHAMOKIN AND COAL TOWNSHIP	\$ 46,186
MIDDLE COAL FIELD POOR DISTRICT	\$ 49,022
SCHUYLKILL COUNTY	\$ 53,569
CAMBRIA COUNTY	\$ 58,642
ALLEGHENY COUNTY (NOT INCLUDING PITTSBURGH)	\$ 72,911
CENTRAL POOR DISTRICT	\$ 153,894

Some Characteristics of Recipients of Outdoor Relief

It is of interest, undoubtedly, to know something about the characteristics of the army of 45,000 dependents, who, it is estimated, received outdoor relief during 1923. Due to the inadequacy of the records of most of the poor boards, many important facts could not be gathered. The figures we have been able to obtain, however, throw an interesting side light upon the outdoor relief problem in Pennsylvania, and are presented below. Table 10 shows the ages of nearly 1,000 adults in cases relieved by a number of our poor boards.

TABLE X

Classified Ages of 982 Adult Recipients of Relief

Age Group	Individuals	
	Number	Per cent
20-29 -----	143	14.6
30-39 -----	414	42.2
40-49 -----	229	23.3
50-59 -----	80	8.1
60-69 -----	69	7.0
70 and over -----	47	4.8
Total -----	982	100.0

More than one-half of the individuals fall in the age group between 20-40, which indicates that they should make good material for constructive social work and plainly indicates the function to be performed by the poor directors.

The ages of more than 3000 children found in families receiving outdoor relief are listed in Table 11.

TABLE XI

Classified Ages of 3378 Children of Families Receiving Outdoor Relief

Children of	Individuals	
	Number	Per cent
Wage earning age (over 16) -----	464	13.7
School Age (6-16) -----	2,029	60.1
Younger -----	885	26.2
Total -----	3,378	100.0

Our figures do not bear out the general impression that the majority of the outdoor relief recipients are foreigners. Of 6,221 persons receiving outdoor relief, 4,143, or over 66 per cent, were classed as natives, and 2,078, or 33.4 per cent, as foreigners. In only a few poor districts is the proportion of natives and foreigners reversed and the foreigners constitute the majority of relief recipients.

CAUSES OF INDIGENCE

What are the causes for such a large army of persons seeking poor relief in Pennsylvania? It is unfortunate that we do not have reliable figures on the causes of their indigence, for it must be apparent that any comprehensive program of poor relief must needs be based upon it.

From the data available on the reasons for persons seeking outdoor relief it may be safe to estimate that (1) 55 per cent are widows and the wives of husbands confined in institutions for the mentally ill. (2) 25 per cent may be classed as the "industrial poor" which means that the dependency is traceable more or less to industrial causes such as sickness, accidents, unemployment. (3) In 10 per cent of the cases the dependency is traceable to some moral turpitude such as desertion, imprisonment. (4) The remaining 10 per cent are the aged dependents.

OUTDOOR RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

DIVISION OF COUNTY

In counties administered as a county unit the county generally is divided into three districts, each of the three directors or county commissioners taking charge of one. As a rule each director decides for himself whether or not relief should be given, the amount and kind of relief to be given and when relief should cease. In cases where an unusual expenditure is involved the matter might be brought up before the board. There are some counties in which the superintendent or steward seems to be in complete charge of outdoor relief, the directors of the poor acquiescing in the action he takes.

In a few cases the county is not sectionalized among the three members and the work of the entire county is handled by the board as a board. One county thought it advisable to centralize the work because applicants found it easier to seek relief from a single poor director and "get across." The individual director is disinclined to reject an application whereas a board is likely to be more discriminative. Besides there is this added advantage, that the board is better able to take a view of the whole situation and adjust different viewpoints the individual directors may have in the case.

Questioned as to the desirability of having the whole board decide on outdoor relief cases rather than individual directors, quite a number of poor directors have been emphatic in declaring that the old system of dividing the county into three parts, giving each part into the charge of one director, is undesirable, and that the best results can be obtained by having outdoor relief administered by the board as a whole, the detailed administrative functions delegated to a trained welfare worker.

APPLICATION FOR RELIEF

Applications for relief generally are made in person to the director in charge of the district. A good many cases are referred to the directors by private persons and societies.

In an application for relief a sworn affidavit of dependency or poor warrant plays a very important part. A sample of such an affidavit used by one of our poor districts follows:

AFFIDAVIT

All questions must be answered or affidavit will not be accepted. Resident voters only accepted as witnesses.

County ss:

Before me, an Alderman or Justice of the Peace, in and for said County, personally came....., who, being duly sworn in the form of law, deposes and says that..... of
(Give Street and Number of Voting District, if in Township give Location)
is a poor and impotent person..... and utterly unable to procure the necessaries of life, and..... has none able or willing to assist..... and..... asks that..... may be assisted by the Directors of the Poor of..... County and they will ever pray.

Sworn and subscribed before me
this..... day of..... 192..

.....
Alderman or Justice of the Peace

Name
Address
Name
Address

Cause of destitution?
How old are you?
How long have you resided in.....County?
Where did you formerly reside?
Were you ever married?
Are you now married?
Where is your husband?
Is your mother living?
If so, where does she reside?
Is your father living?
If so, where does he reside?
Do you own any Real Estate?
Do you have any roomers or boarders?
If so, how many?
How much rent do you pay?
Who is your landlord?
What is his address?
Do you have any money in bank?
Do you receive any kind of pension?
Do you receive any other source of relief?
If so, from whom?
Do you own any stocks or bonds?
Do you have any kind of employment?
If so, where?
How many children are dependent?
How many boys under 16?Age.....
How many girls under 16?Age.....
How many children over 16?Age.....
Can they read or write?
Can you read or write?
Was your husband a soldier or sailor?

Your correct address must be given where you are now residing or no relief will be furnished.

To the Directors of the Poor and House of Employment of.....County.

In accordance with the above information, if you find the facts as represented, you will take charge of the said..... and make provisions for.....as..... destitute condition requires, charging your expense to the County of..... And for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this.....
.....day of192.....

.....
Alderman or Justice of the Peace

One poor district has the following "Notice of Citizens" who might sign as witnesses on the reverse side of the application blank for outdoor relief. "As applications for relief are becoming more numerous each year, it is therefore important that due vigilance be exercised by the directors of the poor that the public charity be properly dispensed. The directors desire to relieve in every lawful way the destitute, sick and helpless, who are found worthy of assistance. They, therefore, respectfully ask the citizens who may be called upon to sign the following recommendation, to carefully read it, to use their best judgment before they affix their signatures, as the directors must depend in a great measure upon the statements made to them by those who live near to and are therefore best acquainted with the applicants and their circumstances. It is as much the duty of the citizens as that of the directors of the poor to protect the county from imposition, should relief be sought by those who are not justly entitled to it."

An affidavit such as is given above, perhaps with not as many questions to be answered, is in use by the majority of our poor districts because the poor directors feel that it furnishes a basis for their investigation and that unless such an affidavit is furnished they would not be authorized to give relief. Some poor districts require the signature of one witness (who generally must be a taxpayer) and one justice of the peace. Others must have the signature of two or three or even more witnesses and the justice of the peace; while still others require no witnesses, but two justices of the peace must sign.

A number of poor districts do not require sworn affidavits to be furnished to the applications for relief. Some have even discarded them, because they found it is easy matter for an applicant for relief to get witnesses to attest his application and that the affidavit requirement helped them little in their work.

The decidedly undesirable feature of the affidavit system is that the majority of the poor directors feel that the presentation of an affidavit makes it compulsory for them to grant relief, even though they may be convinced that relief should not be furnished.

INVESTIGATION

After an application has been received and a sworn affidavit filed an investigation of the case is made. In most cases where the investigation is carried on by the directors themselves it resolves into this: Does the applicant belong to my poor district? Does he or does he not need relief? Is he "worthy" or "unworthy?" There is seldom an inquiry into the particular circumstances leading to the necessity for public relief and an attempt to find out the underlying difficulties the family or individual is facing, in order to set up a workable plan

for the immediate treatment and future rehabilitation. The investigation is seldom carried beyond perfunctory interviews with members of the family in the home, although the neighbors seem to be one of the most fruitful sources of information and often the deciding factor whether or not relief should be given. Extensive inquiries are seldom made of relatives, employers, hospitals and social agencies to discover what seems to be the real trouble, which is seldom apparent on a single visit to the home.¹

Some poor boards have come to realize that the job of investigation of outdoor relief has grown beyond them and that it would be advisable to delegate it to a paid full-time investigator. One poor district realized the waste in public funds in giving outdoor relief without close supervision. It engaged an investigator, with the result that out of 605 applications received during a period of nine months, 299 or 50 per cent, were refused after investigation. Contrast this with the previous three-months period when there was no investigation and relief was granted to all of the 501 applicants.

The value of an investigator may be further illustrated by the experience of another poor district. The old poor board divided the county into three districts, each district to be taken care of by one member. At each meeting the directors brought in their lists and relief was granted as a matter of course. One of the directors especially seemed "tickled to death" to bring in a lot of relief orders.

When the new board came into office the newly-elected woman member "signed relief slips until her arm got tired" and she finally refused to do so any longer, saying that "the women of this county did not put me here just to sign my name." When the poor director who gave relief so extensively was asked what he knew about the families on his list it was found that he knew very little about them. He told the Board that his wife helped him to investigate and "knew that they were deserving."

The woman member prevailed upon the board to send out an investigator. It was found that relief had been given by this poor director for a period of years without even attempting an investigation. Generally, the grocer would be approached by a family saying "that they had no money to pay their bill and that he should call up the Sixth Street House (meaning the poor director's home) and see that they got relief." The grocer would tell the story over the telephone, and usually the director granted relief upon the grocer's story and sent out "orders of relief." It was found that very few people came in direct contact with the director, although in some cases the grocer was "just foxy enough to send them to the house,"

¹The following incident will be of interest in this connection: The controller of one poor district who noted with alarm the mounting outdoor relief expenditures has taken a hand himself in trying to find out who were "worthy" of receiving relief and had written to the grocers on whom the order had been made. To his great surprise most of them replied that the cases were "worthy."

so that suspicion would not be aroused. Through the investigation a large number of cases were cut off at once. The investigator found that a great many of the persons aided never would have asked for relief had they anticipated investigation. The feeling seemed to prevail "that since everybody got something, why should not they get something." "It got to be a disease with the people; since it came so easy they felt quite mean about losing it," the investigator remarked.

It has already been mentioned that some of the poor districts now have investigators who look up all applicants for relief before grants are made. While the employment of an investigator is an improvement over the old method of the poor director investigating, it by no means follows that the work done by the investigator always marks a distinct improvement in the type of the investigation conducted. In choosing persons to act as investigators for them, the poor directors as a rule will select those born and bred in the district in which they are to work, with the idea that they will know their own territory and everybody in it and therefore are perfectly familiar with all conditions with which they will have to deal.

The persons thus selected as investigators may be familiar with the local circumstances but that does not necessarily mean that they will be efficient investigators or good case workers for family rehabilitation. As a rule they have had little or no training for the work, and their investigation, which they approach largely from the detective point of view, does not mean any more than to find out whether the families are "genuine" or not. It is not infrequent to find investigators who make no pretense of doing family case work and are even antagonistic toward other social agencies attempting case work.

The poor directors of some poor districts have come to realize that the many complicated problems of poor relief cannot be solved by themselves nor by non-professional investigators, but that the only solution lies in the employment of trained and experienced welfare workers who will have complete charge of the details of the relief work, that is investigation, determination of form and extent of relief, and follow-up work leading to rehabilitation. Their work will be described later.

Many of our poor boards are not entirely convinced of the need of trained service and not inclined to favor the employment of trained welfare workers because of the additional expense involved. Much is yet to be done, therefore, to convince our poor relief officials that knowledge of the local situation and familiarity with many of the applicants does not necessarily furnish a sound basis for relief purposes, and that the expense involved in having a trained welfare worker is far less than continued relief given without a constructive purpose.

DETERMINATION OF KIND AND AMOUNT OF RELIEF

It will be found that unless a family presents obviously a health problem requiring medical relief, relief will be given in the form of groceries.¹

To some extent poor districts furnish coal, clothing, and shoes; some pay rent; pay burial expenses, etc. In some poor districts a limited number of families get cash instead of groceries; in a very few poor districts are all outdoor relief cases relieved in cash.

The policy of not giving cash extensively is due undoubtedly to tradition and to the fear that if cash is given it may be spent unwisely or even be squandered. The Mothers' Assistance Fund's experience of years shows, however, that millions of dollars may be paid as pensions in the form of cash, provided a definite relief program is set up at the beginning and careful supervision continued as long as the family is a pensioner.

MEDICAL RELIEF

In addition to groceries, medical relief is given by most poor boards. Many poor districts have physicians employed at regular yearly salaries to furnish such medical relief. Other poor districts engage the physician as needed and pay the regular rates. Some poor districts have made arrangements with a city doctor or hospital.

RELIEF IN QUARANTINE CASES

Many of our poor districts give a considerable portion of their total outdoor relief to families quarantined by the health authorities because of the presence of contagious diseases. The custom seems to be widespread for certain families to ask relief the moment they are quarantined. When an affidavit requesting relief in quarantine case is presented to the average poor director he feels even more obliged to give relief without investigation of the circumstances than in an ordinary relief case.

Some poor districts have become greatly concerned over growing expenditures for quarantine cases and are trying to devise means whereby people who really are not in need will not get relief. They feel that the head of a family should be allowed to remain at home until the crisis is passed in case of seriously ill children, but that just as soon as possible the man should leave the house and con-

¹One poor district reports that of the total outdoor relief expenditures 88.4 per cent were spent for groceries, 3.7 per cent for medical relief and attendance and 7.9 per cent for rents. Another poor district reports 70.9 per cent of the outdoor relief expenditures were spent for groceries, 9.3 per cent for coal, 11.1 per cent for clothing and shoes and 8.7 per cent for medical relief. Still another poor district reports 83.0 per cent of total outdoor relief expenditures were for groceries, 1.3 per cent for coal and wood, 8.7 per cent for burial expenses and 7.0 per cent for medical relief.

tinue with his work, and in this way support his family. This is done by families in ordinary life everywhere, and works no more hardship in cases of contagious disease than in other cases.

AMOUNTS GRANTED IN INDIVIDUAL CASES

Certain poor directors make an attempt to adjust the amount of relief to be given to the size of the family, the ages of the children, circumstances of employment of any of the children, etc., and take a view of the whole problem that the family presents. Quite often the determining factor in the amount of outdoor relief to be granted is whether such outdoor relief is cheaper than maintenance at the almshouse.

Most of the poor districts are granting relief in amounts which are more or less arbitrarily fixed and bear little relation either to the size of the family involved, the family resources or the peculiar problem of destitution presented.

A study of 265 families in which the number of children under 16 was known showed that a family with two dependents received an average monthly allowance of \$11.38 and a family of four \$13.51, \$2.13 per month more for the additional two dependents. A family with three dependents was given an average monthly allowance of \$13.12 and one with six \$15.36, an increase of \$2.24 per month for the three additional dependents.

EXTENT OF RELIEF IN CURRENT CASES

What amounts are actually granted in outdoor relief? The results of a state-wide study made in the summer of 1924 of the amounts received in outdoor relief by more than 2000 families including 8500 individuals are given in the following tables:

TABLE XII

Classified Monthly Amounts of Outdoor Relief 1924

(23 Poor Districts Reporting)

Monthly Amount of Relief	Families	
	Number	Per cent
Less than \$5 -----	80	3.9
\$5 but under \$10 -----	845	41.2
\$10 but under \$15 -----	716	35.0
\$15 but under \$20 -----	238	11.6
\$20 but under \$25 -----	106	5.2
\$25 and over -----	64	3.1
Total -----	2,049	100.0

These figures show that of the 2000 cases over 45 per cent received less than \$10 per month; 35 per cent between \$10 and \$15; a little less than 12 per cent between \$15 and \$20; and 8.3 per cent over \$20 per month.

There are considerable variations in the amounts granted in the various poor districts. In one poor district 36.4 per cent of the recipients got \$1 or even less per month. These represent cases which received \$5 per quarter year or \$10 per year. 30.9 per cent received over \$1 but under \$10; and 32.7 per cent received over \$10 per month.

In another poor district the recipients of relief who got less than \$10 per month constituted 91.8 per cent of the total; the remaining 8.2 per cent received between \$10 and \$15.

Another poor district gave less than \$10 relief to only 9.8 per cent of its cases; 57.3 per cent received between \$10 and \$15; 27.7 per cent between \$15 and \$25; and 5.2 per cent received over \$25.

AVERAGE MONTHLY RELIEF IN CURRENT CASES

Table 13 shows the average amounts of relief granted per month in the summer of 1924, to 1,967 families representing 8,482 individuals in 23 poor districts located in various sections of the State:

TABLE XIII

Average Monthly Amount of Outdoor Relief per Family

(23 Poor Districts Reporting)-1924

Poor District Number	Average Monthly Amount of Relief	Poor District Number	Average Monthly Amount of Relief
One -----	\$6 40	Thirteen -----	\$10 40
Two -----	6 48	Fourteen -----	11 19
Three -----	6 50	Fifteen -----	13 13
Four -----	7 40	Sixteen -----	13 25
Five -----	7 40	Seventeen -----	13 98
Six -----	7 86	Eighteen -----	14 10
Seven -----	1 12	Nineteen -----	14 17
Eight -----	8 42	Twenty -----	15 00
Nine -----	8 60	Twenty-one -----	15 42
Ten -----	8 70	Twenty-two -----	15 46
Eleven -----	9 27	Twenty-three -----	19 09
Twelve -----	10 00		
		Total -----	\$10 45

The outstanding fact Table 13 reveals is that a large number of relief recipients showed an average monthly relief of \$10.45 per family or \$2.42 per individual per month. This is equivalent to an average daily relief of 35 cents per family and 8 cents per individual per day.

Contrast these figures with the grants of the Mother's Assistance Fund, which show that in 1924 the average grant per family per month was \$36.45; and the average grant per child \$10.28 per month.

Commenting further upon the average monthly amounts of relief shown in Table 13, eleven, or almost 50 per cent of the total poor districts represented, gave an average of less than \$10 per month in relief; eight, or a little less than 35 per cent of the poor districts gave from \$10 to \$15; four, or a little over 17 per cent, gave between \$15 and \$20.

Poor District No. 23 in granting an average of \$19.09 is 82.7 per cent above the average for all poor districts. Poor District No. 1, which shows an average of \$6.40, is 38.8 per cent below the average for all cases considered.

Often there is considerable variation in the extent of relief given through the different directors of a single poor district. For example, in one county one poor director will give \$35 a month to a widow with four children; another poor director in different section of the same county will give \$15 to a widow having the same number of children and presenting the same problems.

Table 14 is illuminating because it shows the uneven distribution of relief through five directors of the poor acting individually in one poor district, even though the various directors had to deal with about the same type of family exhibiting not very dissimilar problems of destitution in the several cases.

TABLE XIV
Comparison of Relief-Giving Through Five Poor Directors
of Same District

Director Number	Number of Cases	Average Monthly Amount of Relief
One -----	60	\$16 28
Two -----	135	12 53
Three -----	105	12 51
Four -----	160	11 99
Five -----	104	8 75
All cases -----	564	\$12 09

The average is \$12.09 per month per case so that Director No. 1 is 34.7 per cent above and Director No. 5 is 27.6 per cent below the average. Considering both extremes, Director No. 5 gives on an average only 53.7 per cent of what Director No. 1 gives.

Wide variations in the extent of grants to individual families, often having the same number of dependents and presenting similar problems of destitution, are not to be accounted for by differences

in the cost of living, which varies slightly in different localities, but may be explained by the lack of a general policy for dealing with dependent families, applicable uniformly throughout the State.

Taking into account the fact that a good many recipients of poor relief are accustomed to low standards of living and make few demands upon life, it still is hardly believable that the small amounts given in relief in many districts are either adequate to meet even the most elemental needs or can be used as a lever to lift dependent families or individuals out of the state of poverty. In regard to such inadequate relief grants we are wondering if Mr. Trembath, one of the seasoned directors of the poor in Central Poor District in Luzerne County was not right in remarking: "If...it is the hard and fast rule that the limit of relief shall be seventy-five cents a week, or two dollars a week, does the officer so administering his trust fully discharge his duty and deserve the commendation of his fellow citizens, or is he grinding the faces of the needy and taking care that the poor shall be always with us?"

REASONS FOR LIMITATIONS UPON RELIEF GRANTS

One of the chief reasons why most of our poor districts have put limitations upon the extent of their outdoor relief grants and are reluctant to give adequate grants is not generally hard-heartedness on the part of the director of the poor, but a feeling that he can go only as far as the mind of the average taxpayer approves and that a showing of little money spent in the conduct of poor affairs will earn him the taxpayers' approbation. We find that petty restrictions often thrown around public relief are really crystallizations of what the administrator thinks or once thought the taxpayers would approve, though such limitations are in fact usually far behind what the average taxpayer is likely to approve.

Some poor directors fear that larger relief grants on a budget system of relief may lead directly to the pauperization of the family. The experiences of numerous poor districts do not bear out this contention. Where adequate relief has been given under a definitely worked-out plan and close supervision, the family has been restored to normalcy much more quickly than where inadequate relief has been given over long periods.

As a matter of fact outdoor relief without constructive service can lead only to increasing dependency because while a certain portion of the families receiving relief may pull themselves out of a rut with the aid of the grants, a good many will not. In the meantime others are added to the poor list so that the net result is an increasing number of recipients of relief and an overgrowing accumulation of unsolved family problems.

One very potent reason for limiting grants to small amounts seems to be the fact that the poor director is not always fully convinced that the family is really deserving.

Another reason for limiting the size of the grants is discernable in the attitude of some of the applicants. A good many have the feeling that inasmuch as the poor fund is raised through public taxation they have a right to demand relief and are entitled to it as a matter of course. And a good many families feel that although they may not be in need of relief they can see no reason why they should not get it when other families do.

Partly to give an account of their stewardship and partly to check imposition, many poor districts have full names and addresses of all recipients of relief printed and posted in conspicuous places and some give it even larger circulation through publication in newspapers. The average poor director feels that it might be embarrassing to poor people to have their names published in the newspapers and that they will try to avoid public disgrace by withdrawing their claims upon public relief. Some poor directors think that worthy people would not mind having their names published, while publication of names would show up the unworthy, and those who were really proud would refuse to apply.

Any one who has given even a little study to the manner in which our poor districts are now administering outdoor relief can understand why there should be certain limitations upon the amount of outdoor relief grants, for without such limitations the expenditures might assume inordinate proportions. But he will also find that such economy practice is often false economy, for large sums have been spent on families which either should not have received relief at all, or which have received material relief over long periods of time, when social and medical service rather than pecuniary relief should have been furnished.

It is pointed out that the asylum of the poor house, instead of outdoor relief, is frequently offered to families not because the poor directors think that may be the best way of meeting the problem, but because they feel it to be the cheaper way.

The following story of an aged couple illustrates vividly one poor board's mistaken policy of granting only very small amounts of outdoor relief both as a deterrent and as a matter of economy:

"Daddy and Mother Jones live in a beautiful spot in the forests of Pennsylvania. Daddy is 77 and Mother is 75. They have lived there all their lives; their married daughter has an invalid husband and a family of children, who do not make very good provision of them..

"Until too old and physically unable to work, Daddy worked in the forest, but a stroke last year left him unable to do even the little necessary to keep up his vegetable garden. He has rent and fuel from the State, clothes from neighbors and friends. An allowance from the poor board amounting to about \$20 a month

would keep these old people comfortable for the rest of their lives. When the granting of this amount was suggested to the poor board they were nearly taken off their feet, declared that they would 'never grant more than \$5 a month to any family, no matter what size or what conditions'.

"The steward, when asked what their per capita was in the almshouse, said 'about \$1 a week per person'. When it was pointed out that this would be at least \$35 a month if they admitted the old couple, they said that would not enter into the question. They would provide for them in the Home, to be sure, take them away from the little granddaughter they had reared and who was a great comfort to them, but would not consider under any circumstances granting more than \$5 per month. They have many couples living on \$4 a month in great comfort. The steward said that if they had their rent, clothes and potatoes they would need nothing but bread, and \$5 a month would buy all the bread they could eat."¹

Stories such as this can be multiplied.

ORDER OF RELIEF

The first order of relief is generally given to the applicant to be presented to the grocer. The individual director as a rule has full authority to sign and issue relief orders. In some poor districts the relief order to be valid must have the signature of two or three directors.

Some poor districts specifically advise the grocer in their order what necessities he is to furnish, as the specimen order shows.

.....County Home
, Pa.,192...
 Mr.

Post OfficePa.

Please furnish.....with provisions—actual necessities only (see margin) for..... months at the rate of \$..... per month beginning 192.... and ending

and charge your account to the "Directors of the Poor and of the House of Employment for the County of.....".

No deviation from the list of necessities is allowed unless by a special order. The cooperation of store-keepers is requested in order that this aid may be wisely expended.

Necessities
 Flour, Yeast
 Corn Meal
 Beans (loose)
 Rice (loose)
 Bread, Macaroni
 Potatoes
 Cabbage
 Turnips, Carrots,
 Side Meat
 Beef Boils
 Soup Bones
 Cheese, Soap
 Salt, Salid Oil
 Rolled Oats
 Lard, Coffee
 Sugar, Molasses
 Can Tomatoes

Bills will not be paid unless the following rules are obeyed:

1. This order must be attached to the bill and sent to home.
2. Bills must give the name, date and amount of each article furnished.

No.Director.

¹Contrast with this the dinner at this County Home at the time of our agent's visit: "The table was laden with food of the finest quality. There were two enormous platters of fried spring chicken, representing at least ten or twelve chickens, two platters of boiled ham, huge bowls of mashed potatoes, sweet potatoes, corn, lima beans, large platters of sliced tomatoes, bowls of stewed peaches and spiced peaches, pepper hash, platters of cheese, great platters of bread and cinnamon buns, enormous molds of fresh-made butter, cuts of delicious canteloupes, custard pie and most generous helpings of homemade chocolate ice cream and cocoanut cake, coffee with rich cream. There was enough left to serve as many more two or three times over."

Other poor districts have notices like the following on their orders: "You are hereby notified that this order is given for the obtaining of necessities of life only. No *luxuries* shall be furnished hereon and all bills must be itemized and rendered in duplicate on your bill head."

In most of our poor districts only the total cost of groceries to be given in relief but not the kind of groceries, is noted on the blank. The recipients are allowed to select more or less what they want, although there is usually an understanding between the grocer and the poor director, sometimes definite, sometimes implied, that only groceries considered to be necessities are to be furnished.

The stores from which the groceries are to be obtained usually are selected by the poor director, although in most cases the orders will be drawn on the merchant for whom the applicant has expressed a preference. Some poor districts have eliminated the merchants and distribute outdoor relief from the county homes or have set up their own stores for the distribution of groceries, meat, clothing, shoes, etc. One poor district buys groceries wholesale and people whose cases are approved bring their baskets and are given grocery orders according to the size of the family. It has supplies of bacon, potatoes grown on the farm, flour, sugar, rice, beans, canned salmon, syrup, lard and other staple goods. It occasionally provides meat other than bacon. It finds it has saved a great deal of money in buying wholesale and has a much better grade of goods than the grocers commonly put in their orders. It used to have complaints that there were worms in the cereals and the canned goods were often old stock, sometimes completely rusted through.

There are considerable differences of opinion among the poor directors, grocers and recipients of relief, as to what should be considered necessities. The controller of one poor district considered items such as are listed below luxuries, and refused to pay for them: canned salmon, pickles, lettuce, celery, olive oil, jelly, lemons, oranges, bananas, prunes, raisins, meat, and cheese. The controller of another poor district refused to agree to the payment for purchases of milk and oranges for families with children because he did not consider these articles necessities. This same controller evidently considered coffee a necessity and readily agreed to pay bills which showed amounts of coffee in excess of what would normally be required.

The following record which is based upon the purchases of over \$1500 worth of groceries by forty-three families, equivalent to eighty-eight months of relief, shows the distribution of purchases among the different articles of food regarded as necessities by one poor board.

TABLE XV

Distribution of Articles of Food Purchased upon eighty-eight months' Relief Orders by forty-three Families

Article of Food	Amount	Per cent
Beef Boils -----	\$43 01	2.8
Side Meat -----	97 30	6.4
Soup Bone -----	2 70	.2
Lard -----	72 93	4.8
Cheese -----	81 23	5.3
Cabbage -----	41 29	2.7
Carrots -----	8 80	.6
Potatoes -----	122 16	8.0
Turnips -----	10 90	.7
Onions -----	20	¹
Beans -----	84 47	5.5
Can Tomatoes -----	66 85	4.4
Bread -----	18 48	1.2
Corn Meal -----	33 38	2.2
Flour -----	270 35	17.7
Macaroni -----	49 46	3.3
Rice -----	50 30	3.3
Rolled Oats -----	29 16	1.9
Yeast -----	3 64	.2
Coffee -----	108 55	7.1
Molasses -----	25 61	1.7
Salad Oil -----	33 00	2.3
Salt -----	12 82	.8
Sugar -----	194 18	12.7
Soap -----	63 63	4.2
Total -----	\$1,524 40	100.0

¹Less than one-tenth of one per cent.

The consultant of Administrative Nutrition of the Department of Welfare who has examined the above figures, offers the following suggestion: "That certain foods listed for purchase be decreased; that other foods not now listed be added. The greater variety will please the purchaser, improve health, and tend to decrease garbage.

Foods to be added: Milk, barley, dried peas, whole hominy, peanuts, peanut butter, kale, cereals, hominy grits, cracked wheat, Ralstons, dried fruit, peaches, apples.

Increase the consumption of: Molasses, potatoes, vegetables.

Decrease the consumption of: Sugar, coffee. Allow coffee for adults only. Coffee has no food value; it stimulates. Young people should not have it. Serve milk, however small the amount. It is a food.

The training of the mother is essential. She should know food values, combinations which make an appetizing meal, and the cost of food in relation to its food value. The mother may not purchase a food high in food value and low in cost because she does not like it. Her family suffers the consequences. She should be trained to purchase intelligently; otherwise unscrupulous dealers will take advantage of her lack of knowledge and the fact that she is a charity customer."

The way in which most poor directors aim to control the purchase of "necessities" is through the scrutiny of the bills rendered by the grocer. Most poor districts require the grocer to present an itemized bill of goods furnished. Often control over the kind and quantity of goods cannot be exercised, as the grocer does not state the quantity nor the net price, but simply names the articles furnished and gives the total value.

FOLLOW-UP WORK

When once the application for relief is considered favorably and the family is "put on the poor book" the follow-up work on the part of poor directors to see what is happening to the family is done in a very desultory fashion. Usually the grocery orders are sent out regularly each month, unless a longer period of continuous relief has been designated.

As a rule the relief orders are used up during the month for which they are issued. In many cases the recipients of groceries will get goods from the grocer on the orders they expect to receive the following month, and in some cases the recipient does not take the full amount of an order one month but has the balance go over to the next month.

Some poor directors have instructed the grocers to distribute the total monthly amount available over the four weeks. They have done this because the tendency has been observed among some recipients of relief to buy up the entire months allowance all at once with the idea that "it is better to have it" than not.

In some cases where the grocer has found that the family obtained the whole monthly order at once, and then came to get groceries on account of next month's orders, he has himself limited the families to the purchase of goods to a certain amount per day.

Some poor directors keep in fairly close touch with the families they are aiding, visiting them perhaps once in four weeks. In poor districts where there are investigators there may also be frequent contact with the recipients of relief.

Most poor directors, however, make few attempts to see their charges after the initial contact. People are thus carried along on the books, receiving relief month after month to the amount first agreed upon, without periodic reviews of the changes that have taken place since relief was first granted; and few attempts are made to find out what present conditions are as compared with those when the family began to get relief. One can frequently find cases of families having received relief from ten to twenty years; the poor directors never having seen them nor knowing the reasons why relief was accorded.

In cases of chronic dependency where little constructive case work is possible and where the problem is almost wholly one of relief, frequent contact with the family is not so essential.

More supervision and a display of active interest is essential in most cases handled by the poor boards to-day. Widows with small children; sickness in the family; desertion of the breadwinner, present more than mere relief problems.

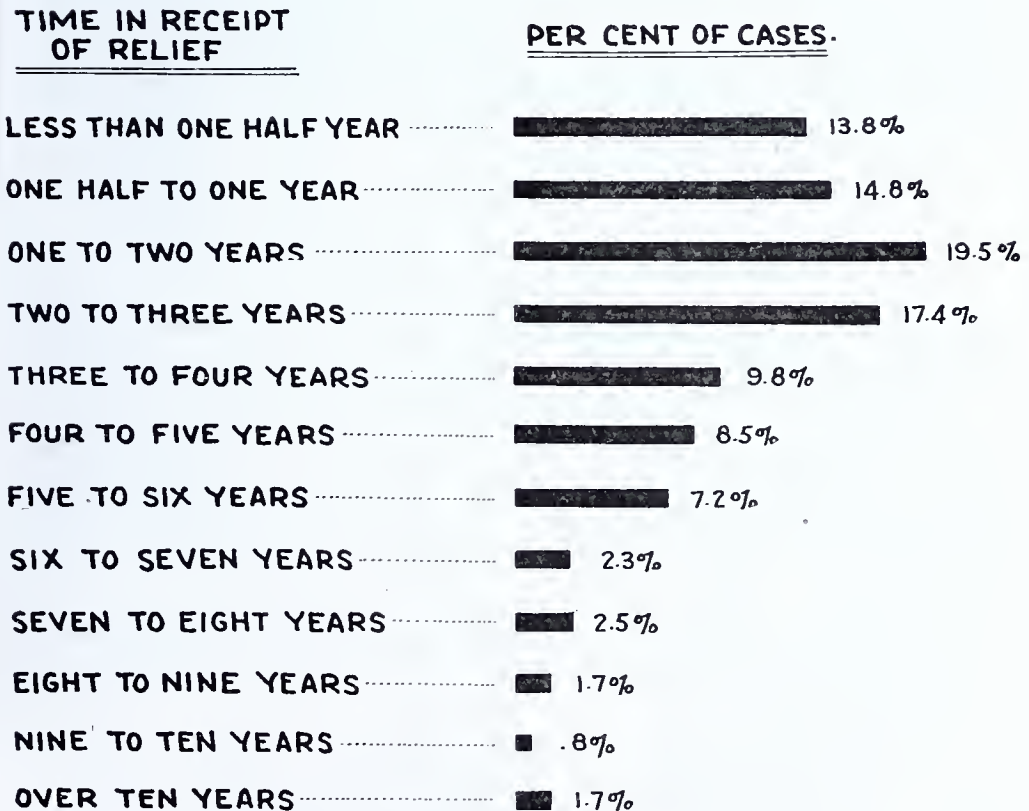
CHART G

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

OUTDOOR RELIEF - 1923

"LIVE CASES"-LENGTH OF TIME IN
RECEIPT OF OUTDOOR RELIEF.

[BASED ON 1000 CASE RECORDS].



AVERAGE DURATION OF "LIVE CASES" ABOUT 3 YEARS.

LENGTH OF TIME OF RELIEF-GIVING

We are now coming to the consideration of an important question in outdoor relief: What is the length of time individuals are dependent upon the public bounty? Such a question asked of the average poor director will undoubtedly bring the reply that in most of his cases relief-giving is an emergency affair. And that seems to be the impression generally current among outsiders.

Figures collected from various poor boards do not bear this out. Relief-giving in most cases is a long drawn out process and may be said to have developed into almost a regular pension system.

A study made in the summer of 1924 of the length of time about 1000 "live" cases had received relief is summarized in Table 16.

TABLE XVI

Length of Time 979 Cases Have Been in Receipt of Outdoor Relief
at Time of Investigation (Summer 1924)

Times of Continuous Relief	Cases	
	Number	Per cent
Less than one-half year -----	135	13.8
One-half year, but under one year -----	146	14.9
One year, but under two years -----	189	19.3
Two years, but under three years -----	171	17.5
Three years, but under four years -----	96	9.8
Four years, but under five years -----	83	8.5
Five years, but under ten years -----	142	14.5
Ten years and over -----	17	1.7
Total -----	979	100.0

These figures show that only about 14 per cent had been "on" the various poor boards less than six months, and 15 per cent between one-half year to one year. On the other hand more than 55 per cent of the current cases already had been in receipt of relief between one to five years. And this should be noted:—16 per cent had been recipients of relief over five years. The Department of Welfare has records of cases in which relief began twenty years ago and is still running.

The average length these active cases have been in continuous receipt of outdoor relief is thirty-two and one-half months, that is almost three years.

The figures thus far given have dealt with current cases. In Table 17 is shown the length of time of relief-giving in more than 600 closed cases.

TABLE XVII

Length of Relief Giving in 664 Closed Cases

Time during which Relief has been Given	Cases	
	Number	Per cent
Less than one-half year -----	203	30.6
One-half year to less than one year -----	120	18.1
One year to less than five years -----	281	42.3
Five years and over -----	60	9.0
Total -----	664	100.0

Less than one-half the closed cases were in continuous receipt of relief for periods up to but not including one year; more than 50 per cent of the cases were of relief given continuously for periods varying in length from one year to five years; and 9 per cent were of relief for longer than five years.

TOTAL AMOUNT OF OUTDOOR RELIEF

From figures gathered by agents of the Department of Welfare and from others published in the newspapers it has been possible to construct Table 18, which shows the total amounts received in more than 1,400 cases relieved by twenty-one poor boards during the year 1923:

TABLE XVII

Total Classified Amounts Received by 1411 Relief Cases
During 1923

Total Amount Received	Cases	
	Amount	Per cent
Under \$10 -----	121	8.6
\$ 10, but under \$ 25 -----	271	19.2
\$ 25, but under \$ 50 -----	191	13.5
\$ 50, but under \$ 75 -----	199	14.1
\$ 75, but under \$100 -----	210	14.9
\$100, but under \$150 -----	238	16.9
\$150, but under \$200 -----	88	6.2
\$200, but under \$300 -----	62	4.4
\$300, and over -----	31	2.2
Total -----	1,411	100.0

From these figures it is apparent that more than 40 per cent of the total cases received less than \$50; 29 per cent between \$50 and \$100; 28 per cent between \$100 and \$300; and a little over 2 per cent of the recipients of outdoor relief were granted \$300 or more.

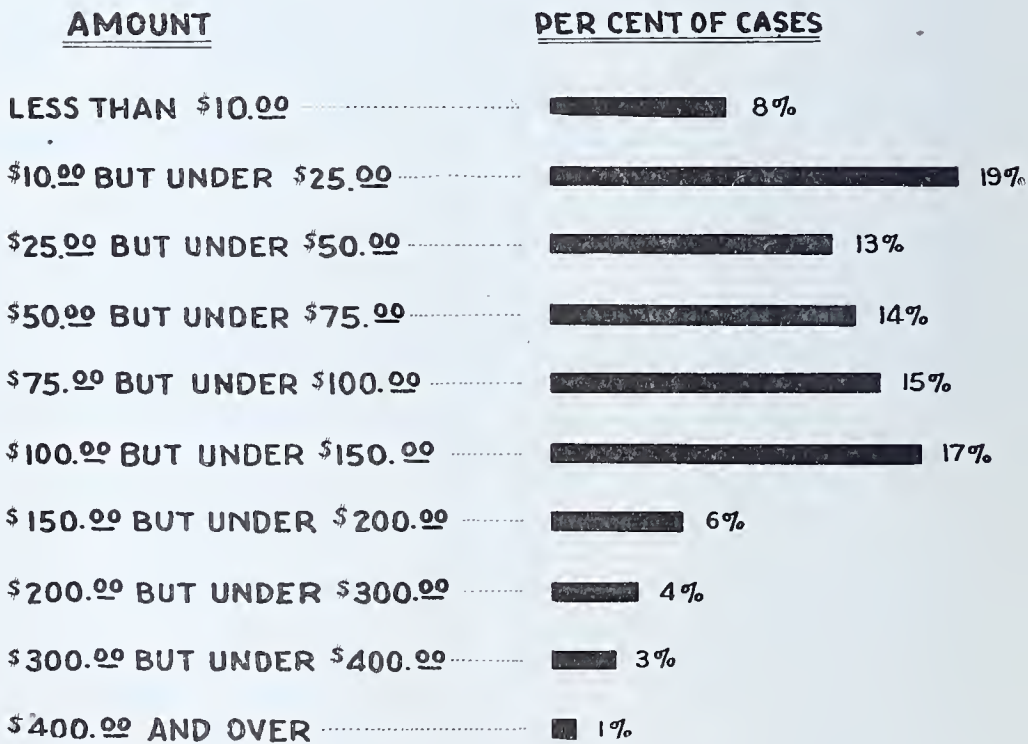
CHART H

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

OUTDOOR RELIEF

TOTAL AMOUNT RECEIVED IN
INDIVIDUAL CASES DURING 1923

[BASED ON 1500 CASE RECORDS]



AVERAGE AMOUNT OF OUTDOOR RELIEF DURING 1923 \$80.00

Reports from fifty-five poor districts show that during the year 1923 they relieved 33,681 persons, involving a total expenditure of \$870,113.29. That means there was spent an average of \$26.62 per person per year.

The various poor districts included in this study exhibit wide variations from the average, as Table 19 shows:

TABLE XIX

Classified Average Amount of Outdoor Relief Per Person Per Year
During 1923

Yearly per capita Amount of Outdoor Relief	Poor Districts	
	Number	Per cent
Less than \$25 -----	22	40.0
\$ 25 but under \$ 50 -----	21	38.2
\$ 50 but under \$100 -----	8	14.5
\$100 and over -----	4	7.3
Total -----	55	100.0

We may note from these figures that in over 78 per cent of the poor districts reporting the total yearly per capita amount of relief was less than \$50.

The fifty-five districts that were studied show that the highest yearly per capita amount of outdoor relief was \$190.57, and the lowest \$2.98. It may be of interest to note here the practice of one poor district which reports the following cases of "permanent outdoor relief given to indigent persons": forty-six persons receiving \$15 per year; eleven persons receiving \$10 per year; and fifteen persons receiving \$5 per year.

The above tables have shown the total amounts given in one year. A study of the total amounts of relief given during the entire periods of relief-giving in almost 700 cases yielded the figures shown in Table 20.

TABLE XX

Total Classified Amounts Received During Entire Period of Relief
Giving

Total Amount of Relief Given	Cases	
	Number	Per cent
Less than \$50 -----	185	27.2
\$ 50, but under \$ 100 -----	114	16.7
\$ 100, but under \$ 500 -----	337	49.5
\$ 500, but under \$1,000 -----	38	5.6
\$1,000 and over -----	7	1.0
Total -----	681	100.0

In nearly 45 per cent of the 681 cases the relief was less than \$100; about 50 per cent received over \$100 and up to \$500; more than 5 per cent received over \$500; and in almost 1 per cent of the cases the total relief was over \$1,000.

RECORDS OF OUTDOOR RELIEF

In studying the outdoor relief situation in Pennsylvania one is struck by the utter lack of adequate records in individual cases of outdoor relief and the meagerness of data generally on the whole outdoor relief problem.

One very seldom finds individual case records which would be of real value in furnishing a proper basis for relief or records giving in sufficient clearness and detail the underlying problems and difficulties a family is facing which would permit setting up a workable plan of rehabilitation.

In many of the poor districts all the information that has been recorded about a family is contained in the original order of relief, which usually is filed away after the first contact with the family and seldom used after that. The directors, as a rule, keep a private record in books regarding the recipients of relief in their poor districts, which seldom contains more information than names and addresses; and sometimes the directors record the amounts of relief given. Often not even the street addresses are recorded, although the poor directors' territory may be in a populous center.

The poor director seldom knows the ages, occupations, etc., of the children in the families. It is not often possible to trace over any extended period the number of individuals or families who have been recipients of outdoor relief.

Whatever details concerning the families have been obtained are carried generally in the memory of the poor directors. The usual assertion of poor directors that they know all about their families and therefore little need for detailed record-keeping exists, is amply contradicted by the numerous negative answers one receives when seeking some essential details concerning the families they are aiding and in many cases have aided for years.

The loss entailed and the difficulties created if records are regarded as private memoranda by the directors or the information is wholly in their memory, in the event of change of directors, by removal from the district, or by death, need hardly be pointed out here.

The following incident is illustrative of this point. The records of a poor director who died, were turned over to his successor in office. All the incoming director found recorded was the names of the families, no addresses. His first work, therefore, was to locate the beneficiaries, and that was no small job considering the

very extensive territory embraced in his district. It took him several months to find and visit all the families in order to make an investigation that would furnish him some basis upon which to give relief.

Often there is no co-operation in exchange of records among the individual poor directors of the same county or district. It is quite probable that Director No. 2 will be appealed to and will know nothing about what Director No. 1 has done in a particular case. A new investigation will be made and relief given in accordance with the ideas of Director No. 2, which may be altogether at variance with the ideas of Director No. 1.

Some poor districts which have outgrown the idea that good record-keeping is synonymous with red tape and, realizing its value in dealing with dependent families, have developed good blanks for that purpose.

Standard record forms for use of poor boards have been worked up by the Department of Welfare and are available upon request.

COOPERATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES

This study of the outdoor relief situation in Pennsylvania shows how little thorough-going co-operation there is at present of public poor officials with charitable agencies dealing with dependent families, a fact which is to be regretted from more than one standpoint.

In outlying poor districts, where there are no well developed social agencies co-operation, necessary though it be, assumes less importance. But many of our various districts are located in populous centers with highly-developed and efficient community organizations, and yet most poor directors will look askance at establishing a full working co-operation with them, although one poor director here or there may get in touch with private agencies, occasionally asking them to render a particular service.

Although social service exchanges are now established in many centers in Pennsylvania, it will be found that only a very few poor boards register their cases with those exchanges or attempt to get the information available from them before taking up a new case. The directors of one poor district felt reluctant to record their cases with a social service exchange because they thought it unfair to give out names and addresses of recipients of poor relief since they were "good people," down and out today, but who would not be down and out to-morrow. This board entirely overlooked the fact that most of the information upon which it bases its relief-giving is obtained from neighbors and store-keepers, and that the names and addresses of a large number of recipients of relief are known to hundreds of grocers.

The chief reasons for this lack of co-operation must be sought in the attitude both of the poor director and social worker. The poor director often considers clearing his cases through the social service exchange as useless red tape and looks upon modern case work as something rather impractical and of little value at best.

The social workers often have been too critical of the work of the poor director, without understanding sympathetically the difficulties and circumstances under which he must work and without making an earnest attempt to show the poor director what can be accomplished through case work.

How important close co-operation is and the necessity of pooling information and joint planning may be seen in the following. In one poor district which does not now register its cases with the social service exchange, 176 poor board cases were cleared through that exchange and 97, or 55 per cent of the poor board cases were identified as having been dealt with by one or more of the private social agencies of the district. Previous to having been taken up by the poor board 54, or 34 per cent, of the cases were handled by the Associated Aid and full information concerning them was available. This data the poor board did not utilize.

In another district where co-operative relations have been established between the poor directors and the Associated Aid, the names of 137 recipients of outdoor relief were submitted to the social service exchange. One hundred twenty-nine or 94.2 per cent, were identified. Of the identified cases fifty-five, or 40.1 per cent, apparently had come only in contact with the poor directors, and had not been handled by any of the other social agencies. Ten cases known to other agencies, were found getting outdoor relief, but the poor directors had failed to register them.

Sixty-four identified cases, almost 50 per cent of the total, were known to from one to four social agencies besides the poor board:

- 31 cases (48 per cent) known to poor board and one other social agency
- 18 cases (28 per cent) known to poor board and two other social agencies
- 10 cases (16 per cent) known to poor board and three other social agencies
- 5 cases (8 per cent) known to poor board and four other social agencies

In poor districts where there is very close co-operation with private agencies, all cases are cleared through the social service exchange, and where it is found another agency is interested in a given case joint planning is established. Some poor districts which refer certain cases of relief to private societies for investigation will furnish the material relief but leave the supervision to the private agency.

In one poor district a tentative arrangement has been made between the poor director and the Associated Aid whereby the former agrees to assume responsibility where relief apparently would be required over an extended period of time in cases such as:

1. Widows eligible to Mothers Assistance, but for whom funds are not yet available.
2. Old couples.
3. Old men and old women.
4. All those suffering from chronic incapacity for self-support.

In view of the fact that there is as yet little close co-operation between public and private agencies, and where co-operation has been established it is as yet not based upon a division of work definitely planned or based upon definite principles, which will lead toward the promotion of the public welfare and in view also of the ever-increasing unsolved problems of dependency, the question that the Secretary of Welfare, Dr. Ellen C. Potter, asked recently will have to be decided more definitely before long: "How closely may and should private and public charity co-operate financially and otherwise in promoting their common cause—the public welfare?"

Some progressive poor directors have very decided views in answer to this question. Says Major J. Clyde Miller, one of the poor directors of Allegheny County:

"It seems to me a wise plan in all of the counties throughout the State that the poor directors should keep in touch with the social welfare worker. Without this close co-operation of the welfare worker or social worker there is sure to be duplication, which we try to avoid, as it is a case of feast or famine with the poor of some of the districts..

"The various social workers of all the large manufacturing interests in our county work with us; they help us if we get somebody who needs assistance; and they immediately get in touch with us when calls for aid come to see whether we have extended help. They give that personal touch that we with our inspectors may fail to get in the home.

"Two years ago we started to have the representatives of these various social organizations have dinner with us, in order that we should become better acquainted and better outline our work. These social workers also help out in different ways by organization whereby they save the taxpayers of the county thousands and thousands of dollars".

At one of the recent conventions of the Pennsylvania Directors of the Poor, Mrs. W. Irwin Cheyney, president of the Delaware County Poor Board, was emphatic in her declaration that "the work of rehabilitation can never be brought to a successful conclusion without a wise co-operation among all the public and private charitable agencies of the State."

A group of social workers studying recently the question of division of work between public and private agencies dealing with families in their homes was convinced that no arbitrary division can be made on type of case except in two particulars, namely: that cases of old age and other helpless disabilities in which case work could profit little should go to the non-case working agency; and that

first applications should so far as possible go to the case working society in the hope that timely aid may prevent any considerable measure of dependency. Other cases, they believed, will frequently call for joint plans. If co-operation is not such that such plans can be worked out, but sharp division of cases must be made, they thought it should be made on a purely opportunist basis that will not exclude by predetermination any whole group of persons who may need case work.

They believed it wise that the public agency should take proportionately fewer cases involving very intensive case work and a larger proportion of those requiring comparatively little case work. The heavy end of the relief burden undoubtedly should remain with the public fund. The definitely experimental case work should be undertaken by the private society.

But above all they offered an earnest suggestion that the secretary of the private society try as hard to understand sympathetically the personality of the director of the poor, his difficulties and the circumstances within which he must work, as she does in the case of her most interesting and difficult client. They emphasize this because they realized that the poor director is a pretty fair representative of the average citizen whose wishes he is expected to carry out.

CLOSING OF RELIEF CASES

In view of the general lack of supervision over outdoor relief cases, it becomes of special interest to discover how cases of relief are terminated. In poor districts where fairly close tab is kept on the families through frequent visits cases are closed in a natural way, that is relief-giving stops when the conditions originally calling for relief no longer exist. A slight study of this phase of outdoor relief will reveal, however, that in many poor districts the time when a family should be cut off from receiving relief is not ascertained through any systematic investigation and close contact with the family. The discontinuance usually occurs after an accidental visit of a poor director to the family or is based upon outside happenings, such as notification by grocers that the family is no longer in need of relief; or because a widow has remarried; or the husband or children formerly out of employment are now working; or the removal of recipients without giving notice to the director, and return of mailed-out grocery order; or discovery of fraudulent use of the poor board order.

The experiences of a number of poor districts will throw an interesting sidelight upon the circumstances under which outdoor relief cases are closed:

Poor District No. 1. The newspapers of the county carried the following story recently:

"The poor board discovered to-day that they had for more than a year been paying outdoor relief to a man who is paying installments on an automobile at the rate of \$30 per month".

Poor District No. 2. The poor board gave relief to one family from August, 1922, to May, 1923; to the total amount of \$150.06. The family consisted of man, 55, woman, 41, and one child, 6, at home, and one girl, married, living in New York. Relief was given because of "sickness." The poor board's record about the family contained the following:

"Owns double dwelling, claims mortgage \$1,500, receives rent from one side, \$13 per month. Keeps small store, said profits were \$3 a week. Woman goes out working sometimes. Husband still in New York with daughter. Can get little information from neighbors."

Relief was stopped because the woman bought "asparagus, olive and Wesson oil" on her grocery order. She came to the office of the poor board "dressed in height of fashion." The investigator reported that "woman, known as well to do, has maid, owns a double block, also keeps grocery store." The records of the Associated Aid throw further light upon this family. A client of the Associated Aid lived with this woman:

"The client is an unmarried mother who left the woman the only money she had, \$13 or \$14, when she went to the hospital. Later when the girl asked the woman for the money the woman told her she had to give it to a detective, who came there from Philadelphia, in order to "keep him quiet about the child". When the visitor of the Associated Aid asked the woman whether the girl had left any money with her the woman said she had not. The facts relating to the woman through the record suggest that she was of a questionable character.

Poor District No. 3. The following are reasons given by a director of this district for closing some cases:

(1) Paid one month rent for family. Requested family to "fill out papers". Never heard from them.

(2) Family disappeared.

(3) Old woman was drawing \$5 monthly check for years. Used to live with daughter in poor district, but went to Ohio to live with son. Six months passed before that was discovered. In the meantime the daughter accepted and cashed the old mother's check.

(4) A woman had been getting relief for twenty months, moved out of county without notifying the poor directors. The mother of woman used one month's order and then was "trapped up".

(5) Family supported because husband was in jail for having driven car under influence of liquor. Had man paroled to go to work and support family.

(6) Storekeeper told poor director family didn't need any more help. Family had three children, all working.

(7) It was found that widow was left three properties and son was working, earning \$80 per month.

(8) It was discovered family owned property, had just bought automobili on installment plan and were putting up a garage.

(9) Man and woman living together. Couple did not get married and man continued to live in home as boarder, because woman feared she might lose the relief, if she married him.

(10) Deserted family, got relief for months after husband had returned.

(11) Woman disappeared "mysteriously".

(12) Widow moved so often and wouldn't give her address. Came back every once in a while and was given relief because she told hard luck story. The poor director tired of helping her.

Poor District No. 4. An investigation was made of a large number of cases that had been receiving relief for years. The circumstances under which a few of them were terminated is illuminating to say the least.

*Gertrude Kennedy.*¹ Young couple with six children, ages 11, 9, 6, 4 and 3 years and one child 13 months. Husband out of employment fifteen months. This family received relief from January, 1922, to May, 1922, fourteen weeks, at \$4 per week, \$56. During that time one-half ton of coal was furnished twice and one-quarter ton once. The investigation revealed that the family owned its home; had part of it rented out; had boarders; husband was working and the family even owned an automobile.

K. Musso. Husband consumptive, wife and three children. This family received relief from July, 1919, to March, 1922. Total amount, \$456. The investigator found there was no consumption in the family and that the man had never been out of work. The family owns its home.

Anna Winter. Age 32. Deserted by husband. Six children under ten years of age. Husband died in 1913. Relief was first given in July, 1912, and continued until May, 1916. Relief was given 138 weeks at the rate of \$1.50 per week. Total amount, \$207. During that time one-half ton of coal was furnished sixteen times. Under date of April, 1916, it is remarked on the poor director's ledger: "No more relief, has a house full of boarders, one star boarder." A newspaper clipping of March, 1920, shows the woman and six men were arrested on the charge of maintaining a disorderly house.

Charles Hall. Age 41 years. Out of work. Wife sick with consumption. Three children, ages 9, 7 and 2 years. This case began in 1908 and was continued until April, 1922. Relief given during that time amounted to nearly \$2,000. This case was investigated in March, 1922, and it was found that there never had been any consumption in the family. The number of the children in the family, in the meantime, had increased to six, their ages at the time of investigation being 23, 21, 13, 10, 8 and 6 years. Two members of this family are now inmates of the county home and previous to their commitment to the home had also been receiving outdoor relief.

Umberto Pasquale. Out of employment eight months. Wife and two children. Received relief from September, 1921, to March, 1922, twenty weeks at \$3 per week. Total, \$60. Reinvestigation of this case revealed that this man was building some houses, using his own money to build them. He thought that getting poor relief would help him along. The investigator felt "he would never have asked for relief if he thought he would be investigated."

¹All names of cases listed in this report are fictitious.

Mrs. Minnie Rodo. Husband out of employment. Two sons, 19 and 20 years old, out of employment. No clothes to go out. Married daughter and husband living there with two children, out of employment. This family received relief from December, 1921, to March, 1922, twelve weeks, at \$4 per week. Total, \$48. Also one-half ton of coal was furnished three times. At the time of reinvestigation in March, 1922, the visitor found that the members of the family were all working and mother admitted they had never been out of work. The mother thought that "as other people got relief, she could see no reason why they could not get it".

Jeremiah Green. Nine months out of employment. Wife. One child, 11 months old. Received relief from August, 1921, to March, 1922, twenty-eight weeks at \$4 per week. Total, \$112. At the time of reinvestigation, his wife and child had gone on a visit to her mother and it was discovered he had been spending all his money on raising fancy poultry stock. He was a good painter and could easily have found employment.

Poor District No. 5. The reasons for stopping relief were examined in about 250 cases and listed under the following ten groups.

(1) "*Unworthy of Relief.*" Relief was discontinued in such cases with the poor directors, remark, "Don't think deserve" or "Don't think good". In a number of cases actions involving moral turpitude on the part of recipients prompted the poor board to cut off relief. Noteworthy in connection with the stopping of relief in most of these cases is the fact that the unworthy action on the part of the family was known long before an investigation was made and relief actually stopped.

(2) "*Bought Property.*" Information that recipients of relief had property at the time of making application for relief, or bought property while they were getting relief, generally came to the attention of the poor board a long time after continuous relief had been granted. And in most cases this information did not come through an investigation by the poor directors themselves but was reported to the poor board through outside sources, grocers, neighbors, etc.

(3) "*Husband Back at Work.*" In a number of cases relief was given because of a husband's unemployment or because of his sickness. Visits of the poor directors disclosed that the unemployed men had gone back to work long before relief was stopped or the sick had recovered and were found at work months before relief was discontinued.

(4) "*Children Getting Bigger.*" The case records of the poor board do not show accurately the ages of the children, making it difficult to determine when a child reaches an age to be able to work. This is reflected in the many cases where relief has been continued to a time when the children have reached not merely a working age, but actually have become adults.

(5) "*Widow Remarried.*" It was found that widows had remarried and relief had been given for periods away beyond the date of remarriage. Revelation that some widows had remarried came through chance visits to the homes, by the poor director; in some cases the grocer notified the poor board; in other cases a few month's orders were sent out, and after it was learned they had not been used inquiries were made.

(6) "*Deserting Husband Returned.*" There are cases in which the father deserted at one time but returned subsequently and relief orders nevertheless continued to be sent to the family.

(7) "*Death of Beneficiary.*" There are cases in which the poor board did not know that the beneficiary had died and grocery orders were continued and were used by other persons.

(8) "*Relief Stopped at Own Request.*" In a surprisingly large number of cases relief was stopped at the volition of the beneficiaries.

(9) "*Family Moved, Whereabouts Unknown.*" There are cases in which poor orders were sent out for months in succession and returned by the post office because the beneficiaries had removed and left no address.

(10) "*Cancelled.*" Besides the large number of cases in which no reason why relief was stopped was recorded, there were found a great many cases which ended with such remarks as "Cancelled," "Stop," "No," "No More," "Hold," "Discontinue," "Cut off," "Off list," etc. In the majority of these cases the directors did not remember why they had discontinued relief, and it could only be surmised from the very meagre facts appearing on the record.

RESULTS OF LACK OF SUPERVISION

It is apparent from our study of the outdoor relief administration in Pennsylvania that most poor directors feel that the whole job is done when pecuniary relief has been given. In this they are evidently forgetting that families seeking poor relief are abnormal to some extent; or are victims of circumstances, unable to extricate themselves through their own efforts, and that the lack of money to live normally is not the whole problem.

Where poverty in "normal" families is due to widowhood, desertion, etc., uncomplicated by sickness and other problems, a certain guidance in the advantageous disposition of relief orders is requisite, as well as observation until a time when the need no longer exists. If close supervision is lacking and the families' return to a state of complete self-support is not observed, it may mean a great waste of public funds. But in cases of "abnormal" families, where the poverty is traceable to a complication of problems, the lack of supervision and rehabilitative case work may mean prolonged and often terrible suffering to the families relieved, as well as misapplication and waste of funds.

The results of the lack of supervision which on the face of the available information has meant loss of money to the taxpayers primarily may be illustrated by the following cases:

(1) This is the case of a family with three children who applied for relief because the father was ill, and the poor director thought they would need regular orders until the man was better. After relief had been extended for six months, two monthly relief orders were sent out, but apparently were not used by the family as the grocer did not render a bill for them.

(2) This is the case of a family with four children. "Three or four" monthly orders were recommended because the man was ill. The family received ten orders instead of three or four, and then "reliable sources" informed the poor board that relief should not have been given.

(3) This is a case where the poor directors felt that "temporary relief" would meet the immediate need. Relief actually lasted for almost a year.

(4) This is a family which claimed to have one child of 12 and needed relief because the husband was out of work. After relief had been given for one year and five months it was discovered that the family had two more boys, aged 23 and 21, both working during all the time relief was furnished.

(5) This is the case of a woman with two children whose husband was confined to an institution for the mentally ill. She received relief for ten years. The poor director found that she bought some property, paying down \$800 cash. Explaining her acceptance of poor relief funds she said that as other people got help and some sold the "stuff"; why shouldn't she?

(6) This family with three children in which the husband was a cripple received relief for five years and ten months. Through a letter from a neighbor it came to the attention of the poor board that the mother had been dead seven or eight months and that the grown-up daughter got the orders, exchanged them and spent the money on ice cream.

(7) This couple was given relief five months. The last poor board order was returned by the post office because the family had removed and left no address.

(8) This is the case of a widow who received relief for one year and five months, originally because of the death of her husband and because the landlord wanted the rent. It was found later that she had \$2,000 in the bank from insurance paid her.

(9) This widow with two children was a recipient of poor relief one and a half years. During this time it was reported she bought gold cuff links "worth \$12, for some man". When relief was cut off she had been remarried for one year and had another child in the meantime.

(10) This is the case of a widow. When relief was first given there were ten children in the family, two of working age. Continuous relief was given for six years and nine months. Relief was finally discontinued because of her remarriage. At that time, it was found that there were six children of working age, ranging from 17 to 24 years, living at home.

(11) In this case of a widow, relief was discontinued after eight years and nine months, because the grocer could not find her to deliver the groceries.

(12) This is the case of an old widow with three married children. Because of sickness an emergency order was thought to be advisable. This one "emergency" order was continued for six months.

(13) In this case the woman with one married and five unmarried children applied for relief because her husband deserted her. After relief had been extended for seven months it was discovered that the man was sending money home regularly toward the support of the family, but that his wife did not want him to return home because she feared the loss of poor board help.

The cases cited below show plainly that mere relief giving is incapable of solving the manifold problems that people below the poverty line are facing. They also show the failure on the part of some of our poor relief officials to see beyond the mere relief problem; their failure to take steps which will lead to the rehabilitation of the families under their care; or, if it, is found that their dependency must needs be more or less chronic, to meet the problem in a permanent manner.

(1) The following case indicates the attitude of the average poor director toward adequate grants and constructive family rehabilitation work. As reported by the Associated Aid, this family consists of Mrs. Wilmer and four children—three girls ages 9, 7, and 6 and a boy 13 months. The three elder children are by woman's first husband, who died about five years ago. After his death woman boarded children with a friend, and did housework to support them. Married John Wilmer, an ex-service man, about three years ago. Had just reestablished home when second husband died. Woman was pregnant and was cared for by relatives until after child's birth. Woman had been known by poor board after death of

first husband and she again sought their assistance. Poor Board gave woman a \$10 order to support herself and child and asked the Associated Aid to place the children in boarding home, the poor board to pay board. Associated Aid understood placement to be only temporary until poor board could secure compensation from government for woman when she could establish a home and take children.

After four months the Associated Aid found that no plans were being made for woman. An investigation was made and it was found that woman was doing housework and had baby with her. Woman seems to be higher type than average, takes great deal of interest in her children and is anxious to have them with her. Possibility of compensation doubtful—unable to prove man's death caused by injuries in service. Mother's Assistance Fund investigated case, but could not promise pension for over six months. Occasional aid being given by Veterans' Bureau, and Red Cross also interested. When various agencies were seen each one favored woman's establishing home and caring for children herself, but no steps to that end were being taken.

A conference was called under social service exchange and representatives from all interested agencies invited to be present. Committee decided in favor of helping woman to establish a home. Poor board agreed to pay rent up to \$20, and Veterans' Bureau agreed to supplement if it were impossible to get a desirable house for that amount.

A tentative budget was drawn up and poor board agreed to put in food until care of woman is taken over by Mother's Assistance Fund. As poor board representative stated that they are too busy to do case work, it was decided that Associated Aid visitor take over work of assisting woman to establish home and the necessary supervision which will follow.

The reaction of the poor board's representative, who attended this meeting called by the Social Service Exchange and of some of the directors to whom he later presented a report of the meeting was essentially this: We are already giving this woman considerable relief. According to the budget drawn up for this family we would have to give \$40 or \$50 more per month. What would happen if we attempted to give relief according to a budget system to every widow now on the poor board. It would simply mean that we would penalize the many worthy widows who are trying to get along with as little relief as possible.

Are we going to give relief to our widows without also asking them to help themselves? We all struggle along, and there is no reason why these people should not. If you do not make them work you will pauperize them. And relief-giving on such a scale would mean also that the poor tax millage would be 10 or more, instead of 3, where it is now.

This much was evident from the directors' discussion of this particular case: Not the slightest attempt was made to really go into the merits of the case; to find out just what prompted the Associated Aid to make its recommendations; for how long a time the estimated budget would have to be carried; how much of a share the poor board would actually have to assume, and for how long a period it would have to assume this share.

(2) The following story of a destitute family, printed recently in the newspapers, reveals plainly that the local poor directors were not on the job or that the problems presented by the family were beyond their capacity to solve: Existing on discarded foodstuffs picked from garbage piles near the outskirts of Edgemont, a mother and her four small children were discovered living on an ash heap in Edgemont by authorities, while the father of the group is confined to the jail, convicted of a violation of the State school code.

The father, John Smith, was arrested several months ago for failing to send his children to school, and was convicted of the same offense last week, since which time his family has been compelled to live on the eatables thrown away by Edgemont residents.

The destitution of the group has been brought to the notice of the officials several times in the past months, but despite inducements to work, Smith preferred to lead his idle existence and keep his family in a state of wretched poverty.

Supposed to have resided formerly in Pittsburgh, the queer parents and children immigrated on foot to Edgemont about six months ago and settled in an abandoned mine shaft where they were later evicted by mine officials.

Becoming a nuisance to the community, they were ordered from the region by the authorities. Smith acquired a baby carriage for his youngest child and with his wife led three of the children and pushed the baby to Philadelphia.

Upon reaching Philadelphia they were immediately arrested and shipped back to Edgemont, where they began living in a barn in which cattle had been stabled. Annoyed at their "squatting" on his property, the owner of the shed ordered them to leave about three weeks ago.

Smith was again offered several chances of employment around the mines, but steadfastly refused to take a job and moved his family to an ash heap near Hudson, where their earthly possessions were arranged so as to resemble a home.

Discovering his return, officials investigated the home conditions of the family and learned that Smith still refused to send his children to school. He was again sent to jail.

Since his confinement in the county bastille, the mother and four children have been located near a large refuse heap near Edgemont, snatching bits of food from the pile to maintain their deplorable existence, feeding the infant bits of discarded eatables which Edgemont residents did not deem satisfactory for their household pets.

The condition has been reported to several charitable institutions and will be remedied immediately. Upon his return from jail, Smith will be compelled to work and afford suitable nourishment and shelter for his neglected family.

(3) Here is a case that shows that the poor board has done practically nothing to meet the complicated problems that presented themselves in this family, although the case was handled by the board for over five years. The family began to get relief in November, 1914, because of "sickness." In 1915 the ages of the family were entered on record as follows: man 44, woman 34, children, 18, 16, 14, 12, 10, 8, 6, 4, and 1½ years. In 1917, one child, 18 months, was added to this list. The case ended January, 1920, after having been carried for five years and three months, with a total amount of relief in groceries of about \$500 and coal of nearly the same amount. The individual case record does not show what the poor board attempted to do with the family while they were on its hands, nor why the case was closed.

About three years after the poor board closed the case (November, 1922), the family came to the attention of the Welfare Society when a school nurse requested the society to supply clothing for four of the children who were in the class of defectives.

Investigation revealed the most wretched conditions in the home. Man and woman were diseased and two or more of the children had congenital syphilis. Although the visitor was unable to secure mental examinations for any of the family, her contact with them and reports from various interested agencies left no doubt in the visitor's mind that several of the family were mentally defective.

Woman was man's second wife and only seventeen years old. His first wife died of the flu about four years previous, leaving a family of eleven children; one of the daughters married, and three of the boys old enough to be working. Present wife not at all responsible, quite incapable of managing these step-children, and not a good housekeeper.

During the three months that the Welfare Society visited the family the two boys were unemployed for a time and man was ill and out of work. The history of man revealed the fact that he had changed jobs frequently and that he had been away from work a good deal for one reason or another.

The truant officer complained that children were irregular in school and that when they did come they were dirty and not properly clad. The doctor who had been waiting on family before Welfare Society knew them did not wish to continue his services because conditions in the home were bad.

Several agencies and at least two charitably inclined individuals were interested in the family. Relief was given by the Welfare Society and one of the interested individuals, possibly by others.

The visitor saw that the children had clothing for school; impressed upon woman the necessity for sending children to school regularly, properly dressed, and clean; interviewed teacher, interested individuals, and relatives; secured nurse for woman, who was ill in bed for a time and was endeavoring to get man and woman to go to the clinic with the children, who were already being treated, when the family moved away in the night without paying the rent (February, 1923). Inquiries were made of relatives, school teacher, schoolnurse, shopkeepers in the neighborhood and landlord to learn of the family's whereabouts, but family could not be located.

(4) In the following case it is shown that material relief was given, but that the health problem was left entirely unsolved. Family consisted of man, 32; woman, 26, and children, 3, 2 years and one four weeks. First help was given in April, 1921, because of "sickness." After four months relief to the total amount of \$60 the case was closed.

The records of the Associated Aid continue the story which sheds quite an interesting light upon the "sickness" of the man and how the case should have been handled. In May, 1922, woman applied to the Associated Aid for help because man was out of work and she could not find half-day's work for herself. Could not work all day because she had three-months baby. Had applied at poor board but the director in charge was out of town and nothing could be done until he returned. Man had lost job during winter because of illness. Some trouble with chest. Went to hospital; ill three months, much better at this time, but had been advised to have tonsils removed. After recovery received employment in place where he worked before. His illness used up all his savings.

In September, 1922, family tried to get loan from the loan society to pay back rent, so the landlord would permit them to move into cheaper quarters, and to pay their debts. Sometime later it was learned that the family had moved to another section, occupying two basement rooms, for which they paid \$10 a month rent. The reason given for their moving was that the rent was cheaper and they had debts that they wanted to get paid off. Have paid some of them, but still owe a furniture and doctor bill. The woman said the man missed a few days from work out of every two weeks on account of his health. Man complained of a cold and told visitor he had been advised to have tonsils taken out, but had never done so. Was a patient at the dispensary.

The Associated Aid feels that relief-giving is not sufficient but that a medical examination of each member of family is necessary. Perhaps if man is restored to

health he will no longer need periodic help. Mental examinations are recommended because of the appearance, conversation, and conduct of several of the family,

(5) The family has been receiving relief from this poor district for years. It consists of the father, who has been in the county home for three years suffering from rheumatism; the mother, who works practically every day; a daughter, married but not living with her husband and working but not contributing to the family income, and two boys, aged 10 and 9, attending school.

Woman recently applied at the United Aid Society for additional relief, saying she is no longer able to work. The United Aid Society is of the opinion that relief has pauperized the family to the extent that they are unable to conceive of living without it. If the relief had been constructively and carefully administered the family would now be in a position to support itself.

(6) Man was injured four years ago in an automobile accident and it was found necessary to amputate his right leg below the knee. About eight months ago, owing to his inability to continue at strenuous work, man began to receive a grocery order each month from the county. About five months ago man took unto himself a wife and applied for additional relief from the Associated Charities.

The Associated Charities investigated the case and discovered begging tendencies prevalent in man. A crossing watchman's job was soon obtained for him through their efforts and woman was persuaded to accept work in a lunch room since there are no children. About a month ago Associated Charities was able to advise the discontinuance of outdoor relief. The couple now maintain a respectable existence entirely on their own efforts.

Judging from past performances it never would have occurred to the director of the poor to secure a job for this man; he would have been allowed to shift for himself and relief would have been continued indefinitely.

(7) This family consisting of man and woman of middle age and four children, began to get relief in 1915 because the man's "legs are off." In May, 1924, the family still was getting relief; by that time the total amount of relief probably was \$2,000 and the directors opinion was that the man "ought to work". What has the poor district done during the nine years this family has been receiving relief to rehabilitate the man industrially and to make him self-supporting?

EXAMPLES OF CONSTRUCTIVE OUTDOOR RELIEF

A number of our poor districts adhering until recently to the old concept of outdoor relief have changed their work to conform to the newer methods. They have ceased to be mere relief-giving agencies and are doing a consistently constructive piece of family rehabilitation work through trained welfare workers. Beaver and Delaware counties are good examples of this newer type, and a description of their work and experience is given here somewhat in detail. Both poor districts have demonstrated through their work that a public relief agency must not necessarily be an agency to merely dole out relief, but can do a constructive job in family rehabilitation and in the prevention of pauperization. And what is more the welfare workers have shown to the poor directors and to the taxpayers that constructive public relief is no longer an experiment and that it pays in dollars and cents.

DELAWARE COUNTY

Delaware County has a regularly-employed welfare worker who not only does family case work, but makes investigations of insane cases to allocate definitely financial responsibility for support. In its relief work the poor board does not require affidavits or sworn orders of relief. It is committed to the policy of giving outdoor relief, where it is cheaper, instead of bringing the person to the County Home. The board is making constructive plans for recipients of relief and using the budget plan as a basis of relief.

BEAVER COUNTY

The Beaver County Commissioners realized that helping the needy is not a mere relief-giving job, but requires services which they, because of limited time and many other duties, could not give. Early in 1924 they engaged Miss Esther Martin, a trained and well-qualified social worker to act as family welfare visitor for the county.

A brief description of the details of the work of the county welfare worker follows:

Application for admission to the County Home is referred to the welfare worker, and after careful investigation she decides whether the applicant is to be admitted to the Home, or better provision should be made outside of the Home, either through pecuniary relief or some other means.

Outdoor relief is handled almost entirely by the welfare worker, occasionally consulting the commissioners when expenditure is unusual or advice is needed. Applications for relief may be made to the commissioner's office or to the welfare worker. They are then referred to welfare worker for investigation, and she decides what shall be done. She has the power to issue relief orders.

All women appealing for assistance in cases of desertion and non-support are required to have warrants issued before relief can be given. If investigation shows the need, every possible means are taken to find a deserting husband. Cases of non-support, where the husbands have not deserted, are handled by the court. Men are put under parole, with court order against them for support of family, or sent to the workhouse. In such instances (workhouse) where a man's workhouse fee (65 cents a day) is not sufficient to cover his family's need, it is supplemented by outdoor relief.

In determining the extent of relief to be granted a budget system is used, and all expenses and income of the family are taken into consideration before decision is made. On the orders to the grocers the total amounts to be furnished in groceries are specified, with the understanding that necessary groceries be furnished. While

delicacies must be approved by the welfare worker, substantial foods and balanced diet are permitted. Amounts to be granted in relief are not limited, and orders for groceries have been issued as high as \$16 per week. Rent is paid occasionally. In some instances cash relief is given.

While relief-giving is important, it is not considered an end in itself. Employment is given first consideration. Soon after Miss Martin took charge of the relief work she solicited the co-operation of the employers in the county with the following letter:

"The Beaver County Commissioners recently appointed me to handle the work connected with their office, formerly known as Outdoor Relief. This department will now be known as Family Welfare, and besides investigations for more discreet distribution of relief, follow-up work will be done. In many instances, employment for some members of the family will relieve the distressing situation, and it is for this reason that I am writing you.

"I would very much appreciate knowing to what extent your firm will co-operate with me in this work. I do not want to lessen any individual's responsibility by permitting him to think that I will get him employment without any effort on his part. But I am anxious to know if you will endeavor to employ, if possible, persons in your community sent to you. I realize that there are people who approach the county for assistance who do not want to work. In such cases further measures can be taken, and the county will not be burdened with unnecessary expenditures. Self-respecting families, who thru misfortune, find it necessary to apply for assistance, will be more greatly benefited by employment than any amount of relief.

"Do you employ both men and women? Could you place a cripple at light work or an individual who is not physically strong? Do you have any aversion to hiring colored men and women? Will you place boys and girls who must go to Continuation School one day each week?

"I feel that you will be interested in helping the county reduce expenses, as far as possible, as well as having the satisfaction of knowing that you will be helping individuals find themselves."

The response to this appeal was very gratifying. Many applicants have been placed, and poor relief thus obviated.

The welfare worker realizes the need for constant supervision over the poor board's charges. After first relief has been given there is close follow-up work by the worker in the families. Visits are made as often as they are necessary to give a check on the developments in the family life.

The welfare worker co-operates closely with the relief, social, and church organizations in the county and enlists their interests as far as possible. Plans for families or individuals of a given section of the county are made jointly with relief agencies in that section, which in most cases are volunteer and church societies. In cases where another social agency having a trained worker applies for assistance for a given family and is working with the family, the county welfare worker, as a rule gives the assistance requested, se-

curing reports from time to time. The county welfare worker visits the family handled by another agency only when called upon to do so.

The welfare workers in Beaver County realize that theirs is a work entailing close co-operation and they have banded themselves together in a welfare group which holds monthly case conferences and other monthly meetings for the discussion of larger social problems affecting the county.

The following facts culled from Miss Martin's report are concrete proof of the value of constructive family work.

In one year there has been a decrease of approximately \$5,000 in food orders issued, which means that in this item alone the county more than saved the expense of having a welfare worker. In quite a number of hospital cases for which the county would have paid under the old system relatives have been found who were able to pay.

Out of a total of 207 outdoor relief cases handled during 1924, relief was discontinued in 114, or 55 per cent. The disposition of cases where relief was discontinued is given by Miss Martin as follows:

Income sufficient—Children grown, women working, etc	36
Widows remarried	19
Breadwinners recovered from illness	14
Relatives and friends assumed care	7
Deserting husbands brought into court	5
Deaths—individuals	5
Men released from jail	4
Employment secured	4
Mothers' assistance secured	4
Men—able-bodied	3
Sent to institutions	3
Found to have money	2
Insurance and compensation secured	2
Moved out of county	2
Families separated	2
Outside organizations interested	1
Returned to legal residence	1

114

The significance of these figures lies in this: Outside of cases where natural causes intervened, which may be said to have affected 40 per cent of the cases, the application of social work was responsible for the early discontinuance of relief in 60 per cent of the cases.

The value of proper investigation, follow-up work and social work is also reflected in length of time of relief given to new cases which have been discontinued. Fifteen discontinued cases received relief up to six weeks; thirteen cases from two to six months, and only five cases from six months to ten months.

Summing up her year's work, Miss Martin comes to the following conclusions:

1. Taxpayers are beginning to realize that outdoor relief is not given promiscuously and as a result a more friendly attitude and spirit of co-operation are being shown toward the commissioners and controller.

2. Families and individuals receive aid *only as long as actually needed, and not at all* if some one can be interested in them or some plan worked out for them. This encourages self-reliance and reduces to some extent the tendency toward beggarism which is so prevalent among a certain class of persons.

3. All persons refused aid are given reasons for refusal, and every effort is made to keep them in a friendly spirit, to prevent any unpleasantnesses. Very often these people are of great value later. If there are particular problems that need adjustment, visits are continued and every effort made to overcome the difficulty, so that aid will not have to be given later on. More time is often spent on such families than on those who must have relief. It takes a great deal more time to keep a family "off" the county than to work with those receiving aid.

4. Persons of better classes who become dependent because of unavoidable circumstances—the type usually desperately in need, but who will not ask because of notoriety and publicity—have been encouraged to come to the county believing that their affairs will be treated fairly and confidentially. Consequently a higher type of individuals now receive county aid than ever before.

5. No able-bodied person or malingerer has received aid. For the able-bodied employment is secured, and malingering cases are referred to the proper agency.

6. Pressure has been brought to bear upon children refusing to support aged and invalid parents, and a number of deserting husbands have been brought into court.

7. A permanent set of case records has been established. The value of these will increase as time goes on, since written records prevent a duplication of investigations and incidentally save much time and effort.

ARE OUR PRESENT METHODS OF ADMINISTERING OUTDOOR RELIEF SATISFACTORY?

This is the question that will be asked more and more as we continue to administer outdoor relief in the traditional way, and, as a result of it, are rolling up additional social problems.

Our study has disclosed many undesirable features in present methods of outdoor relief.

In stating some of our criticism, it should be remembered, we are not unmindful of the numerous high-minded men and women administering faithfully outdoor relief and no criticism of them personally is intended.

From examination of a great number of cases in various poor districts one inevitably must reach the conclusion that:

(1) Outdoor relief as now administered on the whole does not serve constructive purposes because of the lack of understanding of what the proper functions of public relief should be.

(2) Most poor directors adhere to the traditional policy of merely giving relief, where that should be only part of the service rendered.

(3) In many cases where relief has been given it has been extended beyond the time necessary for relief-giving.

(4) There are a large number of cases in which relief apparently should not have been given; certainly not material relief.

Considering our present outdoor relief administration from the larger social viewpoint, we can observe:

(1) As many of our poor boards consider themselves primarily relief-giving agencies the investigation of cases is often perfunctory and is made chiefly with a view to determining the family's present financial status. It does not inquire into the specific problems which the family is facing as a basis for determining what constructive plans should be set up. Few attempts are made to ascertain whether all those who naturally should help in the support of the family are doing so, and whether the working members of the family are in occupations that measure up to their earning capacity and give a proper share to the support of the family.

(2) In relief-giving the thought uppermost in the minds of most poor directors is not what is best for the family, considering all the circumstances under which they ask for relief, but "are they worthy?"

Personal equation counts for a great deal in the giving of relief and personal likes and dislikes play a very influential part.

(3) In determining the amount of relief to be given not much of an attempt is made to base it upon the real needs of the family. The poor boards as a rule do not proceed along logical lines to ascertain the income and expenditures of the family and correlate relief accordingly. There is no careful examination of the size of the relief burden the poor boards will have to carry in each case. Most poor boards have traditional or artificial limitations on the size of the grants, and outdoor relief has become a routine procedure in which a fixed amount is doled out regardless of the individual circumstances.

(4) The principal form of relief is groceries and supplies. Cash is rarely given. Groceries are dispensed very frequently when medical aid really is needed, and expenditures for outdoor relief are thus unnecessarily prolonged. In other cases groceries are given when the family merely needs advice and direction how to help themselves.

It would seem that the giving out of grocery orders may be justified in emergency cases before the exact status of the family is determined and the specific needs have been established. As it is, it has developed into a system in which thousands of grocery orders go out month after month without even an attempt being made to couple it with some definite planning function, leading toward the rehabilitation of the family.

In giving relief the feeling often prevails that "beggars cannot be choosers," and if the beneficiary thinks the relief to be given is not quite suitable in his case he is faced with the dilemma of either taking it or leaving it.

(5) Because of their policy not to make charity too easy some poor boards expect women to go out to work even if they have babies and where it would be advisable to have them stay home to take care of the children. And they may insist upon sending to work children who may not be old enough or may not be properly equipped.

(6) Most poor districts do little "follow-up work" after the first relief has been given, and families thus are allowed to shift for themselves. The changes that take place in the family seldom come to the attention of the directors through their own investigations or those of the investigators, but generally come to them indirectly through grocers and neighbors. Bad tendencies in the health of the family, and possible character deterioration that should be looked after thus remain unobserved and unchecked.

(7) There is a great deal of indiscriminate relief-giving, with the result that many receive relief unnecessarily. Because of more extensive relief-giving than is often necessary, the extent of relief in a great many other cases is inadequate or relief does not reach those most in need of it.

Pennsylvania poor boards have many cases of long duration in which inadequate relief has been given for years and the period of dependency has been unnecessarily prolonged. It would seem that if adequate relief had been given in such cases from the start the time of dependency would have been materially shortened.

(8) There is often lack of co-operation between the poor boards, the public and private charitable agencies. The poor boards do not encourage private agencies to carry part of the relief burden as often as they should. They are often unwilling to co-ordinate their own relief-giving with that of other social agencies, nor do they dovetail their own relief-giving with the social service other agencies might be able to render. Many poor districts are located in cities with well-developed community agencies, the services of which they do not utilize although available to them.

(9) There is a lack of adequate record system from which a clear picture could be obtained of relief or other problems of the individual families; or from which could be drawn conclusions about the larger social problems presented by outdoor relief.

WHAT IS CONSTRUCTIVE OUTDOOR RELIEF?

Under this heading it may be well to repeat here the following basic question that Mrs. W. Irwin Cheyney, president of the Delaware County Poor Board, put to the 1922 Convention of the Directors of the Poor, after a prolonged and careful study of the poor relief problems which presented themselves to her in her own county and in other counties of the State.

"First: Just what should be the scope of our work for the poor? Second: What contacts—What plan of co-operation—should we have with the other agencies, public and private? Third: Shall we adhere to the old method of relief-giving? Or shall we carry into public office a demand for the same efficiency, the same trained service, the same judgment, that private philanthropy tries to have to-day?"

Mrs. Cheyney realizes that the time has come when we must all re-examine our public relief policies and re-evaluate our work. To do this it is evident we must have certain standard principles before us. With the co-operation of many forward looking poor directors the Department of Welfare has been able to draw up certain principles for work along constructive and preventive lines.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES IN OUTDOOR RELIEF

These guiding principles are not given here with any degree of finality. They are suggestions, but it is hoped that they will be followed generally by poor boards and displaced as soon as newer and better methods are developed.

(1) *Proper Comprehension of Family Case Work*

Pennsylvania poor relief officials must realize what is involved in constructive family case work; that mere relief-giving does not solve the many family and social problems they are facing, and that unless checked through constructive efforts they are likely to accumulate with increased rapidity.

These officials should also be fully aware that relief-giving, important though it should be, is only one kind of service. The greater need is to bring together, under the right circumstances and with proper co-ordination, the exact amounts and kinds of service required in order to reduce to a minimum the handicaps under which a family is laboring.

(2) *Proper investigation of families to be aided*

If relief-giving is to achieve constructive results it is fundamental when cases first come to the attention of the poor board that there be conducted thorough inquiry into the circumstances necessitating public relief. Such investigations should not be made for the purpose of separating applicants into two classes, the "worthy" and the "unworthy." It should rather be an attempt to discover underlying difficulties in order to intelligently deal with them. It regards a family just as a physician regards an individual patient. Such investigations go far beyond interviewing the members of a family group, and often involve many sources of information, including relatives, church connections, school teachers, old employers, landlords and agents, doctors and lawyers, and so forth.

(3) *Careful relief planning with the family's rehabilitation as ultimate aim.*

The determination of the amount and kind of relief to be granted should not be a perfunctory mechanical process, but should be based upon a budget plan which carefully considers the size of the family to be relieved and the problems involved. Beyond that it is of the utmost importance that definite plans are made in which the poor boards and other agencies and individuals may each play their part, with economy of effort for the actual and permanent improvement of the living conditions of a family so far as they can be improved. It need hardly be pointed out here that adequate relief is real economy in the long run, for larger expenditures for reconstructive purposes at one time with definite economic and social recovery in view will be actually cheaper and more economical in dollars and cents than long drawn out relief-giving with no constructive efforts.

(4) *Follow-up work and supervision*

There is needed careful follow-up work and supervision over the families after the relief-giving begins. Constructive supervision is as much a part of the rehabilitation process as relief-giving itself. While such close supervision may not be needed in cases of old folks, where outdoor relief has taken the form of a pension, it is absolutely essential in families with children not only to observe the current changes, but to give assistance at the right time and in the right form, in order to aid the reconstruction of the family.

(5) *Close co-operation with public and private agencies dealing with family problems*

To solve the dependency problems of any community, the efforts of all existing social agencies should be joined and co-ordinated. For that reason there should be close and harmonious relations between the poor boards and other public and private agencies. One important adjunct in this work is the use of a social service exchange, with which all cases of dependency may be registered and which will serve as a clearing house to avoid duplication of efforts and waste of public funds.

(6) *Keeping of adequate records*

Just as every progressive business man has a bookkeeping system in order to be able to run his business intelligently, and to know "whither he is going," so relief-giving requires full and detailed records, which not only will reveal the individual family's need and difficulties, but when assembled give a picture of the social problems existing in the community.

(7) *Employment of trained welfare workers to give entire time to poor relief problems*

Modern poor relief problems are complicated and will be more so as our industrialization proceeds. Our poor relief officers, well meaning and sympathetic though they may be, generally have not the time and often not the proper training to do long drawn out family rehabilitation work necessitating the closest attention and the application of the most approved methods of case work. Such work should be delegated to a trained welfare worker giving his or her entire time to the work.

THE LARGER IMPLICATION OF OUTDOOR RELIEF

The data presented here shows that in our great and wealthy state, Pennsylvania, there is ever present a vast army of dependents, augmented in numbers from year to year.

Up to the present we have faced these problems in a haphazard and off-hand manner and have tried to meet them with obsolete methods, ill adapted to present day needs. If we are really concerned with solving the problems of dependency we must develop a larger viewpoint than mere almsgiving, which means that we must observe closely the causes of dependency operating in individual families who have fallen by the wayside and check up carefully on the conditions in the community which specifically are responsible. Such facts it would seem are essential not only to efficient relief-giving, but necessary in our attempts at the prevention of dependency.

The records of many poor districts contain a great deal of social data which if properly correlated and presented would throw an invaluable light upon the problems of poor relief itself and upon the inter-relation of industry and destitution. And it would also point the way, no doubt, toward the kind remedial action that should be inaugurated. The poor boards should be satisfied not merely with having experts make an audit of the financial transactions in order to give an account of their financial stewardship, but should call in social experts to audit their poor relief transactions in order to give an account of their larger social stewardship—that in which they are dealing with human beings and are facing complicated family and social problems.

Our data indicate that there is a close relationship between industry and dependency and many of Pennsylvania poor relief problems are part of the larger industrial problems. The effects of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, etc., are a direct cause for extensive and long drawn out relief-giving. For that reason outdoor relief, originally given in cases of emergency and only for

comparatively short periods, is now extended continuously for years and is often called upon to assume the functions of a regular pension system.

To a large extent the existing Workmen's Compensation and rehabilitation systems and the Mother's Assistance Fund meet the needs, but evidently not to the extent they should, as may be seen from the large number of industrial workers, victims of industrial accidents, or their widows in the case of the killed, who must seek poor relief. The problem of the widowhood looms up especially large in many of our poor districts.

The poor directors have further duties to see that the average citizen fully understands what is involved in public outdoor relief. The recommendations made by Mrs. W. Irwin Cheyney, president of the Delaware County Poor Board, will be of interest along this line:

"As a means of arousing public interest, full reports should be published from time to time by the county officials so that all citizens may know not merely the amounts expended but also the policy and methods of the relief officers. The information so obtained would lay the foundation for an intelligent study of conditions. The facts ascertained should be given the widest publicity through the press and through conference of social workers. The effect would be instantaneous in clearing away the worst cases of abuse and neglect which now disgrace our administration of relief."

The path that we should follow in developing and concentrating our social efforts, with regard to outdoor relief, is clear. Will Pennsylvania follow it?

VI. THE TOWNSHIP AND BOROUGH SYSTEM OF POOR RELIEF

COMPLETENESS OF THE STUDY

Until the end of 1924 nineteen of the sixty-seven counties administered their poor relief on the township and borough system; also sixty-five townships and boroughs not a part of the centralized poor districts operated in three counties (Carbon, Lackawanna, and Luzerne).

Considering the State as a whole, there are altogether 516 township and borough poor districts. Approximately 10 per cent of the total population of the State are living in township and borough poor districts; the area of these districts constitutes more than 25 per cent of the total area of Pennsylvania.

Until the Department of Welfare undertook a special study of the township and borough system of poor relief in 1924 little was known concerning the poor relief affairs of these local poor districts, many in remote and inaccessible parts of the State. Through personal

visits of agents of the Department of Welfare to hundreds of township and borough overseers of the poor and through the generous co-operation of numerous poor relief officials in answering a questionnaire by mail, the department has been able to collect detailed data on the township and borough system of poor relief—methods of administration, expenditures, etc.—which is presented in summarized form in this report.

This is the first time that such complete data concerning the township and borough system of poor relief in our State ever has been brought together. The completeness of this report may be gauged from the fact that the figures are based upon the returns of ninety-four per cent of all the existing township and borough poor districts, representing more than ninety per cent of their total population.

ADMINISTRATION

ORDER OF RELIEF

The basis of all poor relief work is the order of relief which is generally sworn to by relatives or friends. A sample order of relief used practically by all township and borough poor districts follows:

To the Overseers of the Poor ofPenna.

Whereas, complaint hath been made unto us, two Justices of the Peace in and for said County, by.....that poor and impotent person in destitute circumstances, sick and unable to provided forand unable to procure medical attendance, you are hereby authorized and required to take charge of the said.....and furnish with....such medical and other relief as.....distressed situation may call for. Given under our hand and seals this

It is a uniform custom with the overseers to demand that they be served with orders of relief before they will give relief. They feel that with the taking out of an order of relief the applicant is "adjudicated a pauper" and they have a legal basis to furnish relief.

Obviously the order of relief serves little practical purpose, for it is seldom hard to get some one to swear out this order. It is rather a hindrance in poor relief work, for the order of relief puts a certain check upon the freedom of action of the overseer, who feels obligated to grant aid when an order of relief has been taken out, even if the giving of relief should be against his better judgment; and in some cases he is likely to give relief sooner than if he has no order because he feels that where an order has been taken out less responsibility rests upon him to determine the real need of the applicant.

INVESTIGATION

After an order of relief has been presented to the overseers most of those officials claim to go out and investigate. Sometimes one overseer goes alone, sometimes the two go. Quite often no visit is

paid to the home of the applicants for aid, as the overseers think that when they have the order of relief and learn by questioning the applicants "what they need" any further investigation is unnecessary.

As might be expected the overseers conduct their investigation with no standard rules. Numerous attempts were made to obtain statements from overseers as to what they looked for in their investigations. The results were almost nil, however, for few could give a well thought out plan of investigation.

Just what the nature of the investigation undertaken by the overseers is, a few cases will illustrate:

(1) This borough supports a 60-year-old man. Asked why he is getting relief, the overseer replied: "I don't know why. He just made application, so we had to help him. He is just as able to work as I am, but he doesn't want to, I suppose. Nothing wrong with him particularly."

(2) This borough helps a man, cripple, 65 years of age, because he is "not able to make a living." "That's what he says, anyhow," remarked the overseer.

(3) This township aids a married couple who have a number of small children. Father is supposed to be tubercular. The overseers have made no attempt to ascertain the man's exact status or whether any other members of the family are infected.

(4) One overseer for years has been helping a widow, the only case in the borough. He did not know how many children there were, nor their ages.

An investigation which the overseers do conduct thoroughly is one to determine whether an applicant has the required legal settlement and is entitled to relief.

In many cases relief is withheld because the family cannot prove unequivocally that they belong to the poor district, and it is not infrequent to learn of cases where "paupers" have been forcibly removed by the overseers from the poor district.

Often the furnishing of relief becomes a matter of legal dispute between the two poor districts, in which event the legal expenses are apt to far exceed the cost that the relief to the family entails, not to speak of the suffering that may be caused.

NATURE OF RELIEF

Most cases of outdoor relief are settled by giving the applicant orders on the grocer. In some cases the overseer personally tells the grocer what he is to give the family. In most cases the selection of the groceries is left entirely to the applicant.

Grocery orders are given to last from a week to one month. Some of the poor who are regarded as regulars do not have to come to the overseers for orders. They may go to the grocery, select their goods and the bills later will be rendered to the overseers.

As a rule the grocer does not render an itemized bill for the groceries he has furnished. He generally sends to the overseer the little cash slips made out at the time of purchase, and payment is

made on the basis of these slips. The slips give few details about unit price, grade furnished, etc. It would seem that even if the grocer did furnish an itemized account, giving in detail unit price, brand, etc., the overseers would hardly go to the trouble to examine them, as they trust that "the grocer did the right thing." As a matter of fact the overseers seem to rely entirely on the grocer as to what he thinks should be furnished to the family.

FOLLOW-UP WORK AND RENEWAL OF RELIEF

Beyond the issuance of grocery orders to fill the immediate need for food, there is little work done to meet the family problems or to restore the families to normalcy by follow-up work.

In the case of widows with small children some overseers claim they visit the families after a short while, but that is done chiefly "to see if they can help themselves, so as to make them drop out."

As a rule after the family has been visited by the overseers and grocery orders have been sent which is synonymous with "having come on the township"—the recipients of food are allowed to shift for themselves. There is seldom a thought of paying frequent visits to the families to see how they are getting along. Most of the overseers think they "know how they are acting," anyway, and if there is anything to be done besides giving the groceries, they are likely to hear of it through "complaints from the family," or other sources.

AMOUNT OF RELIEF

There is a considerable lack of uniformity in regard to the amounts of relief given, and in the time periods for which such relief is given. Some overseers grant relief by the week, some by months; others by quarter year periods and still others by years. The amounts vary from less than \$1 a week to more than \$1 a day.

BOARDING-OUT OF THE AGED POOR

The townships and boroughs which do not maintain local poor farms keep some of their indigent aged at neighboring almshouses. Most of them are boarded out with friends or relatives in or near the poor district to which they belong.

One county showed that 19 per cent of its aged dependents live alone; 28 per cent are boarded out with private families; and 53 per cent live with relatives. Payment for board ranges from \$2 to \$5 a week and more.

LENGTH OF RELIEF GIVING

The problem of dependency in the township and borough poor districts, as elsewhere, is not chiefly one of temporary relief. The majority of the people now receiving outdoor relief have been public

charges for a great many years. It is not uncommon to find individuals and families who have received public relief for thirty and more years. Sample studies made in a number of counties have shown that from 60 to 80 per cent of the public charges have been given relief continuously for more than five years .

RECORDS OF POOR RELIEF

The utter lack of reliable poor relief records in most of our township and borough poor districts cannot be too strongly censured. Seldom are records found which show what families have been helped by the townships and boroughs in the past. Few overseers can produce any kind of a record with reliable information about the social status and the reason for relief in current cases.

Information about the cases receiving relief is based entirely upon the memory of the overseer and can be obtained only through the most arduous cross-examination.

The overseers do keep financial records after some fashion, but it seems that they are destroyed after an audit has been made at the time of settlement. Financial records of the current year are generally kept on slips of paper, from which little meaning can be extracted.

It is clear that any new overseer would inherit no records to inform him what his predecessor in office did. The seriousness of failure to keep proper records will be realized when it is considered that aid has been given in some cases for nearly half a century.

ADMINISTRATION OF POOR FUNDS

In the majority of the townships and boroughs the poor funds are divided among the two overseers, each overseer keeping the money in his own bank and disbursing it on his own orders. In a few of the townships one of the overseers acts as treasurer and deposits the money in his own name. Very few poor districts have a person other than one of the overseers to act as treasurer.

It is a rather curious fact that most of the overseers, who otherwise are so eager to practice economy and save money in poor relief, deposit their rather inactive poor funds on a *non-interest bearing* basis.

SUMMARY OF TOWNSHIP AND BOROUGH POOR RELIEF EXPENDITURES

The total poor relief expenditures of 514 township and borough poor districts were \$825,000 in 1923.¹ Considerable variations in the total amounts spent by the districts studied may be noted. In Table 21 are given the classified poor relief expenditures reported for 482 township and borough poor districts.

¹In order to be able to present a complete picture of the poor relief expenditures of the township and borough poor districts in the State, the amounts that are likely to have been expended by the poor districts not reporting, which were about 6 per cent of the total, have been accurately estimated on the basis of the actual figures reported for each county and have been added to the figures reported. Thus the figures shown here may be said to cover 100 per cent of the township and borough poor districts in the State.

TABLE XXI

Classified Total Amounts of Poor Relief Expenditures 1923

Amount Expended	Poor Districts	
	Number	Per cent
Report no Expenditures -----	38	7.9
Less than \$100 -----	30	6.2
\$ 100 but under \$ 250 -----	56	11.6
\$ 250 but under \$ 500 -----	119	24.7
\$ 500 but under \$ 750 -----	63	13.1
\$ 750 but under \$ 1,000 -----	32	6.6
\$ 1,000 but under \$ 5,000 -----	118	24.5
\$ 5,000 but under \$10,000 -----	12	2.5
\$10,000 and over -----	14	2.9
Total -----	482	100.0

The argument is often advanced that township and borough poor districts, most of them located in rural counties and facing few poverty problems, have very small poor relief expenditures, if they have any at all. This is not borne out by actual facts. But a little more than 14 per cent report no expenditures at all, or expenditures of less than \$100; 56 per cent have expenditures ranging from over \$100 up to \$1,000, and almost 30 per cent report expenditures of over \$1,000.

The annual per capita (per head of population of districts) poor relief expenditures ranges from less than 10 cents to nearly \$6. Of the total districts studied 30 per cent report per capita poor relief expenditures of less than 50 cents; 36 per cent between 50 cents and \$1; 30 per cent between \$1 and \$1.50, and 14 per cent more than \$1.50.

MAIN ITEMS OF POOR RELIEF EXPENDITURES

The main items of poor relief expenditures of the township and borough poor districts are given in Table 22.

TABLE XXII

Main Items of Poor Relief Expenditures 1923

Expenditures for	Amount	Per cent
(1) Outdoor relief -----	\$350,888 90	42.5
(2) Maintenance of insane and feeble-minded in institutions -----	222,655 59	27.0
(3) Maintenance of poor in other institutions -----	24,718 41	3.0
(4) Cost of maintenance of poor farms (not including administration expenses) -----	91,053 49	11.0
(5) Administration expenses -----	135,992 27	16.5
(a) Overseers salaries, wages, etc. ----	105,857 59	12.8
(b) Stewards salaries, wages, etc. ----	30,134 68	3.7
Total -----	\$825,308 46	100.0

The figures that are here presented as a total for all township and borough poor districts in the State are shown separately for each county in Table 23.

TABLE XXIII

Summary of Poor Relief Expenditures 1923 for Township and Borough Counties including Township and Borough Poor Districts not Part of Centralized Poor Districts

County	Outdoor Relief	Mental Patients and Feeble-minded	Support of Poor in Other Institutions	Almshouse Expenditures (not including wages, etc.)	Administration Expenditures ²	Total
Armstrong -----	\$32,312 53	\$15,401 50	\$1,770 35	\$3,847 76	\$8,787 34	\$62,119 48
Cameron -----	3,999 06	2,442 70	1,815 07	¹	1,376 02	9,632 85
Center -----	15,869 70	10,850 05	753 17	5,069 11	7,319 66	39,861 69
Clinton -----	9,878 59	11,563 05	1,627 42	2,258 07	3,266 83	28,593 96
Columbia -----	26,305 81	18,556 18	717 73	15,676 44	10,163 62	71,419 78
Fulton -----	2,093 64			¹	292 04	2,385 68
Juniata -----	5,431 22	4,940 90	146 09	¹	1,067 44	11,585 65
Lawrence -----	18,218 55	17,521 87	1,871 72	3,871 38	9,015 74	50,499 26
Lycoming -----	22,769 40	30,065 58	3,240 90	7,622 62	9,363 78	73,062 28
Monroe -----	6,554 79	7,497 44	216 23	2,824 85	1,865 85	18,959 16
Montour -----	1,288 69	5,612 57	757 26	3,250 23	3,576 19	14,484 94
Northumberland -----	100,670 64	42,669 68	3,036 02	30,228 66	42,368 42	218,973 42
Pike -----	2,479 98	2,763 53	896 83	¹	1,502 22	7,642 61
Snyder -----	4,132 70	3,290 57		¹	973 91	8,397 18
Sullivan -----	4,365 87	1,333 75	447 44	¹	920 59	7,067 65
Susquehanna -----	11,065 06	9,260 86	1,560 86	8,250 57	8,427 46	38,564 81
Union -----	11,852 51	6,110 01	402 86	¹	1,160 92	19,526 30
Wayne -----	7,859 92	9,289 49	1,267 50	1,205 00	3,057 46	22,679 37
Wyoming -----	5,729 24	29 61	1,225 38	¹	1,329 73	8,313 96
Total -----	\$292,877 90	\$199,199 34	\$21,752 88	\$84,104 69	\$115,835 22	\$713,770 03
Carbon -----	\$8,881 49	\$4,293 72	\$157 00	¹	\$2,063 38	\$15,395 59
Lackawanna -----	24,989 67	7,528 57	538 03	\$6,948 80	11,143 58	51,148 65
Luzerne -----	24,139 84	11,633 76	2,270 50	¹	6,950 09	44,994 19
Total -----	\$58,011 00	\$23,456 05	\$2,965 53	\$6,948 80	\$20,157 05	\$111,538 43
Grand Total ----	\$350,888 90	\$222,655 59	\$24,718 41	\$91,053 49	\$135,992 27	\$825,308 46

¹Poor districts in county do not maintain poor farm

²Including almshouse wages, etc.

TABLE XXIII—Continued.

County	Outdoor Relief	Mental Patients and Feeble-minded	Support of Poor in Other Institutions	Almshouse Expenditures (not including wages, etc.)	Administration Expenditures ²	Total
	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.	P. C.
Armstrong -----	52.0	24.8	2.9	6.2	14.1	100
Cameron -----	41.5	25.4	18.8	¹	14.3	100
Center -----	39.8	27.2	1.9	12.7	18.4	100
Clinton -----	34.6	40.4	5.7	7.9	11.4	100
Columbia -----	36.8	26.0	1.0	22.0	14.2	100
Fulton -----	87.8	0.0	0.0	¹	12.2	100
Juniata -----	46.9	42.6	1.3	¹	9.2	100
Lawrence -----	36.1	34.7	3.7	7.7	17.8	100
Lycoming -----	31.2	41.2	4.4	10.4	12.8	100
Monroe -----	34.6	39.6	1.1	14.9	9.8	100
Montour -----	8.9	38.8	5.2	22.4	24.7	100
Northumberland -----	46.0	19.5	1.4	13.8	19.3	100
Pike -----	32.4	36.2	11.7	¹	19.7	100
Snyder -----	49.2	39.2	0.0	¹	11.6	100
Sullivan -----	61.8	18.9	6.3	¹	13.0	100
Susquehanna -----	28.7	24.0	4.0	21.4	21.9	100
Union -----	60.7	31.3	2.1	¹	5.9	100
Wayne -----	34.6	41.0	5.6	5.3	13.5	100
Wyoming -----	68.9	.4	14.7	¹	16.0	100
Total -----	41.0	27.9	3.1	11.8	16.2	100
Carbon -----	57.7	27.9	1.0	¹	13.4	100
Lackawanna -----	48.8	14.7	1.1	13.6	21.8	100
Luzerne -----	53.7	25.9	5.0	¹	15.4	100
Total -----	52.0	21.0	2.7	6.2	18.1	100
Grand Total ----	42.5	27.0	3.0	11.0	16.5	100

¹Poor districts in county do not maintain poor farm

²Including almshouse wages, etc.

The outstanding fact in Table 23, is that small rural counties which have claimed that their expenditures for poor relief were practically nil, and their problems of poverty so negligible as to need no organized and concentrated attention, do show up as having expended considerable amounts for relief.

Quite astounding are the comparatively large sums spent for administration purposes. Hitherto the belief has been current that the township and borough poor relief system is the most economical in the matter of administration, since the overseers of the poor content themselves with a very small remuneration. The idea of the cheapness of the township and borough poor relief administration has remained unchallenged because the actual costs have never been brought together in one item. This has been done for the first time in this study. The results are quite surprising. It is shown that with possibly one or two exceptions skilled and efficient social service could have been secured for the amounts spent here in overseers' wages, which served little constructive purpose.

Some details given below concerning the relationship of administration costs to total poor relief expenditures reveal the existence of rather ludicrous situations in some districts.

(1) This borough maintained only one person in an institution for the feeble-minded, for whom it paid \$25. It gave no outdoor relief during that year. For their work the borough paid the overseers \$150; \$10 in attorney's fees; and \$9 for auditing the accounts.

(2) This borough spent a total of \$2,636.12 in 1923. \$1,619.52 of this amount went for the insane and was paid through the county commissioners office. Outdoor relief was given to the amount of \$716.60. To administer this relief cost \$200 in overseers' salaries and \$100 in attorney's fees.

(3) This borough paid \$1,118.41 for the maintenance of insane and feeble-minded through the county commissioners' office. It spent \$44.13 in outdoor relief. The administration of this relief cost the borough \$250 in overseers' wages; \$18 in auditing expenses; \$21.50 for the printing of the audit; and \$5.75 for the making out of orders of relief.

(4) This borough paid about \$1,000 for the maintenance of its poor in various institutions. It spent \$1,795.15 in outdoor relief. It cost the borough \$1,099.90 to administer this amount, of which the two overseers received \$936; the attorney \$100; the auditors \$45; the printing of the audit cost \$8.50; and orders of relief \$10.40.

(5) This borough maintains a poor farm. In 1923, the borough spent \$4,417.26 to maintain it, of which amount \$1,965 or 44.5 per cent was paid for its management. During 1923 the borough spent \$3,067.74 on outdoor relief. The administration expenses of poor relief of the borough for the same year were \$1,411.09. The overseers received \$1,171.69; the attorney \$100; the auditors \$105; the printing of the audit cost \$11; and orders of relief \$23.40.

(6) This township paid \$491.88 for the insane through the county commissioners. It maintains a poor farm which had no inmates during 1923, on which farm it expended \$364.38. It gave outdoor relief to the amount of \$800.58. The poor relief administration cost the township \$371.61. The overseers were paid \$319.25 the attorney, \$25; the auditors, \$10; for the printing of the audit \$5 was paid; for orders of relief and other legal expenses, \$12.36.

(7) This township paid \$1,109.75 for the insane through the county commissioners. It spent a total of \$15 on outdoor and medical relief during 1923, administered at a cost of \$120.13.

The cost of the poor relief administration is made up of the following items:

Overseers' salaries	\$40.00
For "Treasuring" work (2% commission on total expenditures) ..	24.30
Attorney fee	10.00
Auditing	20.00
Printing of audit	20.00
Affidavits	2.50
Stationery, postage	1.10
Traveling expenses	2.23
Total	\$120.13

(8) This township, which had no insane to maintain, spent \$37.72 in outdoor relief, administered at a cost of \$44.25. \$22 went to the overseers; \$16.25 to the attorney; and \$6 to the auditors.

(9) This township had one insane person and paid \$156.44 for maintenance through the county commissioner's office. No outdoor relief was given during 1923. It paid \$44 for the poor relief administration. The overseers received \$24 in salaries and "for handling the money"; the attorney was paid \$10 and the auditors, \$10.

(10) This borough had one insane person to maintain during 1923 and it paid for him \$156.44, through the county commissioners. It gave outdoor relief to the amount of \$733.89. The administration expenses amounted to \$169.91, of which \$144.91 was paid to the overseers; \$15 in attorney fees; \$5 for auditing and \$5 for the printing of the audit.

OUTDOOR RELIEF EXPENDITURES

Table 22 has shown that the total outdoor relief expenditures of all the township and borough system counties amounted to \$350,888 in 1923. The variations in expenditures between different poor districts are given in Table 24, in which the amounts of outdoor relief expenditures are classified for 374 poor districts.

TABLE XXIV

Classified Outdoor Relief Expenditures 1923

Amount Expended	Poor Districts	
	Number	Per cent
Less than \$50	26	9.6
\$ 50 but under \$ 100	25	6.7
\$ 100 but under \$ 250	94	25.1
\$ 250 but under \$ 500	96	25.7
\$ 500 but under \$1,000	62	16.6
\$1,000 but under \$5,000	52	13.9
\$5,000 and over	9	2.4
Total	374	100.0

It should be observed that only 16 per cent of the poor districts reporting spent less than \$100 each in outdoor relief. Over 67 per cent of the districts spent amounts ranging from \$100 to \$1,000, and more than 16 per cent of all those reporting expended in excess of \$1,000.

MAINTENANCE OF INSANE AND FEEBLE-MINDED INSTITUTIONS

We have seen from Table 22 that \$222,655, or 27 per cent of the total poor relief expenditures went toward the maintenance of the insane and feeble-minded institutions. It is difficult to say whether the expenditures under this item should come entirely out of the poor fund. In obtaining data from the overseers regarding the insane and feeble-minded maintained in institutions at the expense of the poor districts it will be found that they know very little about them and do not often make careful inquiries to find out whether there are any relatives who could legally be required to pay. It would seem that careful investigation would reveal a great many cases in which relatives could be made to do their share toward the maintenance of the district's insane and feeble-minded wards.

MAINTENANCE OF POOR IN OTHER INSTITUTIONS

The expenditures for maintenance of poor in other institutions amounted to \$24,718 in 1923, and meant chiefly payment for support of the indigent in neighboring almshouses or for children maintained in institutions.

ADMINISTRATION EXPENDITURES

SUMMARY

The total amount spent on the administration was \$135,992 in 1923, that is 16.5 per cent of the total poor relief expenditures. Of this total over \$105,000 constituted overseers' salaries and wages, and \$30,000 went for almshouse employes' wages.

The variations in the amounts expended for administration purposes by our various township and borough poor districts may be seen in Table 25.

TABLE XXV

Classified Poor Relief Administration Expenditures 1923

Amount Expended	Poor Districts	
	Number	Per cent
Less than \$50 -----	158	38.9
\$ 50 but under \$ 100 -----	107	26.3
\$ 100 but under \$ 250 -----	90	22.2
\$ 250 but under \$ 500 -----	19	4.7
\$ 500 but under \$1,000 -----	9	2.2
\$1,000 but under \$5,000 -----	17	4.2
\$5,000 and over -----	6	1.5
Total -----	406	100.0

The actual administration expenditures in the local poor districts are by no means as small as the advocates of the township and borough system would make us believe. Only 39 per cent of the 406 poor districts report administration expenditures of less than \$50, and 26 per cent show between \$50 and \$150. In more than one-third of the districts the administration expenditures were over \$100 and revealed amounts up to \$27,358.61.

MAIN ITEMS OF ADMINISTRATION EXPENDITURES

The main items comprising the total administration expenditures are shown in Table 26.

TABLE XXVI

Classified Poor Relief Administration Expenditures 1923

Expenditures	Amount	Per cent
Overseers' salaries, wages and expenses -----	\$80,383 73	59.1
Almshouse salaries and wages -----	30,134 68	22.1
Attorney fees and other legal expenses -----	14,090 52	10.4
Auditing expenses and printing of audit -----	11,378 34	8.4
Total -----	\$135,992 27	100.0

Almost one-fifth of the entire poor relief administration expenditures of the township and borough poor districts are consumed by legal and auditing expenditures.

OVERSEERS SALARIES AND WAGES

There is great variety in the amounts the different poor districts pay their overseers for services rendered. Usually no standards are set for determining what the amount of compensation should be. Local customs govern largely.

Some poor districts pay a daily wage to the overseers when engaged on poor relief work, which ranges from \$1.50 up to \$3 and more per day. Most districts fix the overseers pay on a yearly basis.

In additions to their salary most of the poor districts allow actual expenses to the overseers while engaged on poor relief work. Some of the overseers get additional fees for acting as secretaries and "for taking care of the books".

In 164 poor districts it was found the overseer or the person who acted as treasurer received a treasurer's commission, that is, a certain percentage on the total poor funds handled. In 1923 the township and borough districts spent almost \$15,000 as treasurer's commissions, in amounts ranging from less than \$10 up to \$1,000. One district paid as much as \$3,562.38 in treasurer's commission.

The total overseers' salaries, wages, and their expenses for 364 poor districts is classified in Table 27.

TABLE XXVII

Classified Overseers' Salaries', Wages and Expenses 1923

Amount Expended	Poor Districts	
	Number	Per cent
Less than \$10 -----	32	8.8
\$ 10 but under \$ 25 -----	79	21.7
\$ 25 but under \$ 50 -----	96	26.4
\$ 50 but under \$ 75 -----	46	12.6
\$ 75 but under \$ 100 -----	24	6.6
\$ 100 but under \$ 125 -----	19	5.2
\$ 125 but under \$ 150 -----	8	2.2
\$ 150 but under \$ 250 -----	23	6.3
\$ 250 but under \$ 500 -----	14	3.9
\$ 500 but under \$1,000 -----	11	3.0
\$1,000 and over -----	12	3.3
Total -----	364	100.0

In less than one-half of the poor districts listed on Table 27 the overseers' annual wages, etc., were under \$50. One-third of the poor districts paid between \$50 and \$250 annually. Annual wages in excess of \$250 were paid by more than 10 per cent of the districts reporting.

TIME SPENT BY OVERSEERS ON POOR RELIEF WORK

It is of interest to know the time spent by overseers on poor relief work. Accurate records are seldom kept. An indication may be had from figures for districts paying their overseers on a daily basis by dividing the daily wages into the total amounts paid.

TABLE XXVIII

Time Spent by Overseers on Poor Relief Work 1923

Poor District Number	Days Spent on Poor Relief Work		
	First Overseer	Second Overseer	Both Overseers
One -----	21	12	33
Two -----			40
Three -----	11	36	47
Four -----	45	48	93
Five -----	58	90	148
Six -----	234	234	468

It seems unlikely that the overseers worked very hard on poor relief work for the length of time recorded here when the small number of cases they dealt with during the period studied is considered.

ATTORNEY FEES AND OTHER LEGAL EXPENDITURES

It seems to be an invariable custom for each poor district to employ an attorney at an annual retainer. The cases brought by the overseers to their attorneys have to do chiefly with disputes over legal settlements.

The classified amounts of attorneys fees, etc., for 299 poor districts are shown in Table 29.

TABLE XXIX

Classified Legal Expenses—1923.

Amount Expended	Poor Districts	
	Number	Per cent
Less than \$10 -----	93	31.1
\$ 10 but under \$ 25 -----	117	39.1
\$ 25 but under \$ 50 -----	52	17.4
\$ 50 but under \$ 75 -----	10	3.3
\$ 75 but under \$100 -----	5	1.7
\$100 and over -----	22	7.4
Total -----	299	100.0

About one-third of the poor districts spent less than \$10 annually in legal expenses; 39 per cent between \$10 and \$25; and about 30 per cent of the districts spent amounts ranging from \$25 up to \$1,730. One county paid over \$3,000 in attorney fees.

AUDITING EXPENDITURES

The audit costs in the various township and borough poor districts amounted to \$11,378 in 1923. One county spent over \$4,000 in auditing fees.

From the large auditing expenditures one should conclude that the books of the overseers are in such shape that the poor relief expenditures can be easily examined and reliable information secured. This is seldom the case.

A number of the poor districts publish their audited accounts, but they are often not more enlightening than the illegible entries in the audited books. Some published accounts of poor districts give not more than the total amount expended, with remarks such as "by order audited"; "by orders paid"; "paid for support of poor", and so forth.

TOWNSHIP AND BOROUGH POOR FARM MAINTENANCE COSTS

One of the arguments used by the advocates of the township and borough system is that the local poor houses and poor farms can be conducted at much less cost than the larger county unit almshouses.

Figures collected for the township and borough almshouses show that the cost of maintenance of their inmates is invariably higher and in some cases reaches an annual per capita inmate cost of over \$1,000.

County No. 1. Had one poor farm maintaining thirteen inmates in 1923. The average yearly cost of maintenance per inmate was almost \$500.

County No. 2. Maintained 106 inmates at its six poor farms at a cost of \$40,000 in 1923.

County No. 3. Required four poor farms to maintain eight inmates. The total cost of running these four institutions was over \$5,000 in 1923, which means a yearly per capita cost of almost \$650 per inmate.

County No. 4. Recently voted on the county unit proposition and turned it down, because the present methods of caring for the poor were considered to be adequate and cheaper. This same county maintained five poor farms, with an average of sixteen inmates at a cost of almost \$20,000 in 1923. That means the yearly cost per inmate was more than \$1,000.

HOW DO THE OVERSEERS DO THEIR POOR RELIEF WORK?

Our study of the poor relief cases carried on in numerous local poor districts shows that the majority of the overseers had neither the experience nor the training to enable them to do a good piece of public charity work. A great many did not consider the prime function of poor relief to be that attempting the rehabilitation of the case under care, but apparently figured on how little actual relief might be given and sometimes how their responsibility could be evaded entirely.

To the average overseer the problems of poor relief are difficult enough even when he has to deal with the native population whose ways of living he can understand and deal with after a fashion. But the overseers get completely stumped by the problems that present themselves in the more populous industrial sections where there is a large percentage of foreign-born, whose ways they cannot understand and into whose psychology they can enter only with the greatest difficulty.

Undoubtedly the individual overseer "means to do what is right by the poor." But this alone is not sufficient to deal with poverty problems, sometimes exceedingly difficult and needing most expert handling.

The following cases will illustrate the difficulties experienced by some overseers in solving relief problems:

For more than eight years one township has been giving relief to a family, man and woman about 35 years of age, having seven children, the oldest a girl being 17. The man claims he cannot work because he has a crippled shoulder and a leakage of the heart. His condition seemingly does not prevent him from hunting and fishing, running a fine car owned by his mother, who claims to have acquired it through earnings by taking in washing. The story goes that it was acquired through bootlegging. There has been some "growling" about the eldest girl, who is well able to work and does not go to work.

After relief had been given for some time the overseers thought to take matters in hand and have the man examined by a doctor to find out whether, if able to run an automobile he could not also work. The doctor's advice was against work, but the overseer is firmly convinced that the man "fixed it up" with the doctor. Since then the family has been "pestering" the overseer for more money, and relief is likely to be continued indefinitely.

Here are relief cases of old men living by themselves who need entirely different care than that provided by the overseers:

(1) This township's charge is an old man of 70, single. Is considered weak-minded. Lives alone in a shanty. The overseers pay \$25 a year rent for it. Mau is allowed to expend \$1 a week at the store.

(2) This township aids an old man of 70, cripple. According to the overseer the man is living in a hut not fit for human habitation; the overseers consider living conditions surrounding man as so awful as not to be able to describe them. Nobody wants the man. He gets \$4 per week, out of which he must pay his rent and provide his "grub".

(3) This old man of 60, single, lives in a little shanty. The overseers "find clothes and wood for him, and groceries and stuff." Bills run from \$10 to \$12 a month.

The cases listed below reveal distinct signs of neglect on the part of the overseers toward those whom they were responsible to help:

(1) For three years the living place of this old man was a lean-to at the entrance of an abandoned mine. The place was built without a floor; the man slept on the ground with a few burlap sacks underneath him; for a table, he had a broken box. These two articles were all of his furnishings. The man suffered from dropsy and was in a deplorable physical condition. He had no relatives to help him.

The township poor board knew of the conditions under which this old man was living. It offered him no succor. The case was brought to the attention of a neighboring borough poor board. It had the old man removed to the hospital, where he soon died.

(2) Old man whom the overseers of the poor put in house alone with no care, froze his feet, cared for partly by neighbors, finally taken to the hospital by the social service workers, where he died after surgeons and physicians had made vain attempt to save him.

(3) Miss Blank, aged 72, who is becoming blind, was looked after generously by some friends. The overseers of the borough also aided by paying \$8 monthly rental for a two-room brick house, in which she was comfortably installed. The overseers later thought they could support Miss Blank cheaper elsewhere. They

bought a borough poor house at a cost of \$800. This house, situated about twenty feet from railroad tracks, is in a dilapidated, unsanitary condition, without heating or lighting facilities other than coal oil lamps. It also has a leaky roof and damp floors. The accommodations for water consists of one spigot in the kitchen, without drainage. There are no interior toilet or bathing facilities. It is wholly unfit for the uses intended.

The overseers told Miss Blank that the building is for her use and that failure to accept on her part would result in the withdrawal of all relief. Miss Blank refused to go. Thereupon, the two overseers of the poor, accompanied by the town constable, an employed attorney, and a physician proceeded to the small house occupied by the aged woman, demanded admittance for the purpose of evicting her. She refused to let the overseers enter. They then removed the windows. One of the overseers leaped through the window, grasped the 72-year-old lady, held her until part of the posse could also climb through the window to unlock the door, whence her few goods and chattels were removed to the dilapidated, unsanitary and wholly unfit place provided for her. She refused to accept their official hospitality. A kindly neighbor hauled her belongings back to the home from which she had been evicted, where she now is, slowly dying of dropsy.

The overseers succeeded in forcing this old lady to relinquish her claim for borough aid.

The following is a case reported by the head of a welfare agency in a proud and prosperous community:

"This was the case of one of the "guests" of the borough poor house, who lives by herself. She is about 62 years of age and very frail both physically and mentally. This woman was taken ill in the winter and for quite a while she lay in her room without anyone to look after her; there was no heat and she had nothing to eat. It was recommended by the doctor that she be taken to the hospital, but it was only after much quibbling and discussion on the part of the overseers that she finally landed there. It was a shame the lack of respect this woman commanded from the employees of that hospital and I attribute this attitude of theirs entirely to the influence of the overseers of the poor. She was in the hospital for four weeks and getting along nicely when it was decided to bring her home. When the overseer went to get her he ridiculed her in front of the nurses and asked her what she could expect for one who was dependent upon the public, that if she had saved when she was young she would not be in the predicament in which she now found herself. To my opinion, all that he lacked was the black snake whip."

The following case indicates that local overseers have not been on the job in the prevention of dependency and after it became a fact have evaded their responsibilities.

This is a widow with five children, all too small, with the exception of one, to work. She suffered a nervous breakdown, and it was affecting her mind so that she had become a dangerous mental case. Her affliction took the route of inflicting torture upon herself and children. The case was reported by neighbors to the welfare agency. It was thought well for her to be taken to a sanatorium for treatment. At the time she was receiving \$20 a month from the poor board of the township. However, when the board found she was to be sent to the hospital for treatment it refused to give the money to the hospital or to responsible persons during her absence. The children were boarded out in private family, and when bill was put before the township poor board it refused to pay. Consequently an individual had to pay for this board bill and the hospital bill was paid by an organization, entirely disinterested in the case. This bill was clearly one that should have been paid by the township poor directors.

Here are a few cases of widows handled by overseers of the poor in which inadequate relief has been given. There are also some cases of widows cited to whom relief has been refused entirely by local overseers because they had some little resources which the overseers felt should first be exhausted:

(1) Case of a widow with several children of school age. (Overseer did not know how many, nor their ages). The woman supported herself and the children by working in a shirt factory. Overseers paid her rent, amounting to \$66 per year. While sick with influenza the woman cost the overseers \$100 to \$150 in doctor bills. To help the family along, one of the boys was put out on a farm during the summer months. Woman is no longer "on the borough," having gone to live with relatives out of the district, while the children have been placed in institutions. The welfare worker of the county declared that the local overseers plainly evaded their responsibility and by not giving adequate relief caused the family to be broken up.

(2) Widow with eight children. Their ages are 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 14, and 18. Eldest child (girl) working in a box factory, earning from \$5 to \$8 per week, and is the only support. Overseers feel that girl's income is sufficient to maintain the whole family.

(3) Widow with large number of children. One of the children is a tuberculosis suspect and needs special care. The eldest boy earning from \$8 to \$10 per week, supports the mother and children. The overseers have refused relief because they consider the boy's earnings adequate to meet the family's needs.

(4) Widow with five children, aged 2, 5, 7, 10 and 13. The whole family lives in two rooms paying \$4 a month rent. The woman was left with a few hundred dollars, which she is using for food and clothing, but the money will soon be exhausted. The overseers refuse to help her because she has this little fund, but are forgetting that the family is sinking in the "social scale" in the meantime.

(5) Educated mother of high character and some ability with four boys and one girl. Eldest boy 17, now taking responsibility. Mother worried because of lack of funds and need for help in caring for other children. Overseers can see no reason for giving relief.

Feeble-mindedness, unchecked, and problems created by it may be seen in the following cases:

(1) Widow of 56, with grown children, a woman of 32 and a man of 25. All seem to be feeble-minded; "don't get along, always wonderful poor". The woman's brother and sister are feeble-minded. Woman works occasionally. Does washing for overseer. "It wouldn't do to have her right along, though". Her daughter of 32 is feeble-minded and has illegitimate child of 14, also feeble-minded. This child was "married off" recently by grandmother. The daughter of 32 is now going with a man who also is feeble-minded and whom she wants to marry. They seem to have difficulty in obtaining a marriage license. The couple is determined to get together and start housekeeping.

(2) Old couple. "Man not quite right. Can't do a day's work if he tries. Can't make it again". Woman not exactly right either. Does working out." The man's father seemed to have been feeble-minded and was at one time helped by the borough. The man himself had received relief before he was married. Now helped onto twenty years. The children of this couple apparently are feeble-minded. Some of them are married. This couple's home seems to be the gathering place for the town's degenerates.

(3) Young couple with four small children. Man definitely feeble-minded and woman apparently mentally deficient. Family has been on the borough before and was moved into the township to become a charge there. Overseer of neither district made any attempt to determine whether the children are feeble-minded, or what should be done with the family.

The following cases show signs of almost unbelievable moral degeneracy:

(1) Thomas Burt, according to the overseer "is kind of feeble-minded and his wife is worse yet. They are awfulest set of people you ever get." Two sisters of the woman are feeble-minded and are cared for at Spring City. Overseer remarks that "people say right along that we better send the whole family down there". The nurse reports the Burt family living amidst indescribable squalor. The family includes ten children, of whom five are living. They are all said to be feeble-minded. Two children died of scarlet fever recently who never had any medical attention. One 8-year-old girl, who seems to be roaming around by herself, is described by nurse as "a deficient and vicious child", "and the overseer thinks" "she is as bad as any woman" in the county, meaning that she knows all about sexual intercourse.

One girl of 9 was buried a few weeks ago. It seems that she was placed with one John Evans some time ago, so that she might be better taken care of in his family than she would have been in the shack of the Burt family. Evans is married and works by the day. He is of low moral character and always "has little girls loafing around him," according to the overseer. The little girl was feeble-minded and was said to have spells during which her whole body became blue. She died recently and peritonitis was given as the cause. Rumor persisted, however, that she was raped by Evans and that was the real cause of her death.

(2) Family of ten children, born to feeble-minded parents, who were cared for for many years by overseers of the poor. Fourteen-year-old girl living with man 63 years old as man and wife.

(3) Here is a picture of three generations. A 2-year-old child is in this family of the grandfather and grandmother, who do not want her and will not keep her. Investigation revealed that the grandfather and grandmother are described as always having been an eye-sore to the community. They gave their children insufficient training and home care. As a result one had to be sent to an orphan asylum and the boy was sent to Glen Mills School for incorrigibility.

The sister, the young mother of this baby, has two other children, one illegitimate. The husband and father of the two younger children has deserted. The young woman was caught with a colored man in a raid and committed to the venereal ward of a House of the Good Shepard. She is not yet 20 years old.

(4) The man of this family is shiftless and irresponsible. The mother is in the insane asylum. The children are with their grandparents, who also have a family in their home.

An 80-year-old bedridden great-grandmother occupies one room, leaving two bedrooms only for the other nine persons. Two of these are boys of 13 and 15, who have already been reported in the neighborhood for petty thefts.

Imagination only can indicate the moral danger in which the 10 and 7-year-old girls are living. These two little girls are irregular in school attendance. They are kept home by their grandmother to help her with the housework in her home and to alternate assisting her married daughter some distance away.

The 6-year-old girl is at present in a hospital with a venereal disease. The family who kept her a few nights reported that every stitch of clothing she wore had to be burned because of the condition of her disease.

(5) This family is smaller. A woman, her crippled girl, now 13, and man paramour. When this child was first seen by a professional person she was creeping along a path in the woods. The child was spoken to; the mother came out of the woods and used the vilest language. It was found that the family lived in a two-room shack, one-half mile back in the woods.

The mother is described as a terror and the paramour as a man who looks and acts like an idiot. Since a hospital was mentioned the mother has persistently refused to let her girl go. Says she thinks the hospital means "only killing them".

The mother and the man both chop bark. Walk two and one-half miles to their work and drag the little girl with them in an express wagon. In January they let her sit all day exposed to the weather while they were at work. Futile attempts have been made to have the child wear braces. One interested person called and the man threatened to scald her eyes out if she called again. The language of both has been described as beyond belief.

The woman knows nothing at all about cleanliness. A friend took a chicken in a Christmas basket. While the mother and friend were talking, the child petted the chicken, then chewed a leg off and ate it raw. At the protest of the friend the mother explained the child liked no kind of food cooked.

The child navigates on hands and knees. The neighbors are afraid of the family. The child is now 13 years old and never has been to school. Those who have seen her feel that she is bright and would be worth an education. In September the child herself said she would like to go to school and asked if the friend would please bring her a red hair ribbon and a pair of shoes, so she could look like the other children if she ever went to school.

CONDITIONS IN TOWNSHIP AND BOROUGH POOR HOUSES

In the exhaustive study of conditions in almshouses conducted by the Department of Welfare in 1922 was included a thorough inquiry into the conditions existing in smaller township and borough poor houses and poor farms. As was the case in the larger institutions the survey was conducted upon the principle of establishing a numerical evaluation of township and borough almshouses, scoring each almshouse on a scale of 1,000 and giving each function a rating in accordance with the points actually attained. The results of this study are given in detail in Table 30.

The figures in Table 30 show that the twenty-five township and borough almshouses and poor farms surveyed have attained barely one-half of a fair standard that should be expected of an institution for the aged.

There are some exceptions, of course, but most of them are *poor* houses indeed. The majority of them are located in remote and inaccessible parts, and transportation to and from the institutions is difficult and costly.

The buildings are very poor in plan and construction, dilapidated, decaying and unsanitary. There will be found poor and unsafe heating and lighting facilities (stoves, oil lamps, etc.), with exceedingly great fire hazards, and poor and insufficient equipment.

TABLE XXX

Numerical Evaluation of 25 Township and Borough Poor Houses
and Poor Farms 1922 (Scored on a Scale of 1000)

Poor Farm	Standard Scale		Points Attained	
	Points for each Almshouse	Total for 25 Almshouse	Actual Number	Per Cent
Administration -----	125	3,125	1,905	61.0
Directors -----	50	1,250	770	61.6
Stewards -----	50	1,250	810	64.8
Employees -----	25	625	325	52.0
Records -----	125	3,125	1,340	42.9
Financial -----	50	1,250	500	40.0
Inmates -----	50	1,250	545	43.6
Vital Statistics -----	25	625	295	47.2
Buildings and Grounds -----	150	3,750	1,835	48.9
Light, Heat, Elevator -----	25	625	405	64.8
Fire Protection -----	50	1,250	400	32.0
Laundry, Kitchen, Basement -----	25	625	345	55.2
Farm -----	50	1,250	685	54.8
Accommodations -----	150	3,750	2,115	56.4
Sleeping Quarters -----	50	1,250	775	62.0
Beds and Bedding -----	25	625	435	69.6
Baths and Toilets -----	25	625	345	55.2
Cleanliness -----	25	625	450	72.0
Amusements & Recreation -----	25	625	110	17.6
Food -----	125	3,125	2,495	79.8
Preparation of -----	25	625	510	81.6
Quantity -----	25	625	540	86.4
Quality -----	25	625	530	84.8
Service -----	25	625	460	73.6
Care of -----	25	625	455	72.8
Health -----	125	3,125	1,305	41.8
Prevention of sickness -----	25	625	345	55.2
Care of sick -----	50	1,250	480	38.4
Supervision -----	50	1,250	480	38.4
Sanitation -----	125	3,125	2,170	69.4
Water supply -----	25	625	500	80.0
Sewage Disposal -----	50	1,250	665	53.2
Garbage -----	25	625	540	86.4
General Cleanliness -----	25	625	465	74.4
Institution Activities -----	75	1,875	220	11.7
Occupations -----	25	625	70	11.2
Exercise and Recreation -----	25	625	105	16.8
Amusements -----	25	625	45	7.2
Total -----	1,000	25,000	13,385	53.5

CAN THE CHRONICALLY ILL AND INFIRM BE PROPERLY
CARED FOR IN PLACES SUCH AS THESE?



Dilapidated. Unsanitary and wholly unfit for Almshouse use. 72 year old lady who refused to go to this Poor House was forcibly evicted from her home to be put here.



Old dilapidated farm house. No baths. Outside toilets. Kerosene lamps used and no fire protection whatever. Rickety bedsteads with filthy mattresses and coverings.

Most of these poor farms are indifferently and even badly managed and it is not unusual to find a steward who belongs to a class but slightly superior to a majority of the inmates.

There is no satisfactory sex segregation. Matters of sanitation receive scant attention, for there are hardly any bathing facilities or other means provided for keeping clean. The food served is below a fair standard in quality and variety and certainly is not conducive to the health of the aged and infirm. There is totally inadequate medical care and little or no appreciation of the duty and responsibility for caring for the chronically sick and infirm.

Some detailed descriptions of a few of the very undesirable poor houses follow:

Poor House No. 1 Rooms for inmates are in poor condition, and some are very dirty. The beds and bedding are unclean. The rooms are littered, while the general condition is very poor. The place is full of vermin and bed bugs. The partition walls of the rooms and corridors are partly covered with board wainscoting. In the recesses of these partitions is the domicile of the bugs. The steward has used chloride of lime and other germicide solutions in an endeavor to eradicate the vermin, with but little success. The entire place is unclean. The bedding is of poor quality and in some instances filthy. The building itself is fast deteriorating. The roof, recently painted, is in very bad condition and should be renewed. The food supply is poor. The steward stated that the smoked and salt meats on hand when he assumed charge were unfit for use and were thrown away. One inmate stated that he had not tasted meat for one month. Medical attention is practically nil. The steward stated that the physician has visited the institution but three times in more than a year. On these occasions his services were requested by the steward.

The case of a colored inmate is especially appalling: This man has been bedfast for two years. He occupies a room at the corner of the wing of the building used by males. The physical condition of this man, the unsanitary surroundings, and the general atmosphere of filth, tell a story of willful neglect on the part of the steward, with the primary responsibility resting with the overseers of the poor. The man's room has been washed with chloride of lime to kill the vermin. His body rests upon a straw tick bed. Blankets are provided for coverings. An old tomato can serves as a cuspidor. An old wooden box commode is located beside his bed. His limbs are covered with sores and dried skin. His finger and toe nails are equal in length to those of a polar bear. A bushy beard, of a growth since admission, gives him the appearance of the wild man of the jungle. What attention he has or does receive is from his fellow inmates. The steward frankly stated that if he were compelled to attend to this man he would "quit his job, as he didn't propose to care for that kind of a case".

Poor House No. 2 A farm house located in a most beautiful spot in a mountainous region. The farm house itself is dilapidated and exhibits signs of neglect everywhere. The quarters for the inmates are filthy; the bedrooms littered with old furniture, and look like depositories for trash. Inmates will not stay because they are not treated right.

Poor House No. 3 This house is conducted on a boarding house plan. The steward rents the place for \$200 a year from the township and they in turn pay him \$3.50 a week for every "pauper" sent there. The steward furnishes all the stock and does all the work. The overseers of the poor furnish the clothing and shoes.

CAN THE CHRONICALLY ILL AND INFIRM BE PROPERLY
CARED FOR IN PLACES SUCH AS THESE?



Building in state of dilapidation. Floors worn out. Steps dangerously thin in places. Plaster fallen from walls and ceiling. Roof leaking.



Dilapidated shack. One room set aside for inmates. House filthy and dirty.

This home is to be condemned in every particular. The road leading to the house is not only steep, but in a very bad condition. No doubt in wet weather it is almost impassable. The bridge over a small run is in a most dangerous condition caused by decay. The house is an old dilapidated farm house, with no baths, and outside toilets. Kerosene lamps are used, and there is no fire protection whatsoever. Rooms are absolutely unfit for the purposes for which they are used. What few bedrooms there are do not have furniture in them except rickety bedsteads with filthy mattresses and coverings.

Poor House No. 4 This house is located in a proud and prosperous community. The building is constructed as cheaply as possible. There is a direct connection from one apartment to the other in the basement. The basement is one large room where are situated two toilets. There is absolutely no privacy here and the filth is at times almost unbearable. For bathing purposes one must use the wash tub, and in the case of two families occupying one apartment, the family in front must carry water from the kitchen occupied by the other family. Also, to go to the toilet they must pass through this other person's home. The rooms have only one window apiece, a small one. When gas stoves are used there is no way to carry off the fumes and the rooms are too small for the use of coal stoves with any degree of comfort.

Poor House No. 5 This house is not owned by any poor district, but for years has been the boarding home for "paupers" of neighboring poor districts. The house is an old frame building with very small rooms. The stairs leading up to the bedrooms are so steep that a normal person has difficulty in ascending them. On the day of the visit an old man was found lying unconscious on an uncomfortable and dirty cot in a small room littered with furniture and discarded articles. He had been unconscious since the night before, but received no medical attention. He fell from his cot during the night. The only person to attend him was a crippled woman inmate.

Men and women mingle freely in this home, which is full of vermin. The bedrooms of the men and women have only a little door between them. Right in the women's bedroom is a commode to be used by an old paralyzed woman. The toilet is outside in the yard, a considerable distance from the house.

WHY THE TOWNSHIP AND BOROUGH SYSTEM OF POOR RELIEF SHOULD BE ABOLISHED

The voters of one of the smaller rural counties, Monroe, recently declared themselves at the polls in favor of the county unit poor administration and for the abolition of the township and borough system of poor relief, under which the county has been operating for more than a century.

Facts of inhumane treatment were brought to light, such as can be found in nearly all counties under the township and borough poor relief administration. Progressive and kind-hearted citizens arose as one man to do away with a system, which made a travesty of the uses of charity, and carried on an intensive campaign for the abolition of the township and borough system of poor boards, in which they were overwhelmingly victorious.

Some of the trenchant arguments used by the citizens of Monroe county against the township and borough system may well be set down here in answer to the question, Why the township and borough poor board system should be abolished.

"First, it entirely lacks organized direction. One township may take good care of its poor and some other township may not, but there is no person or groups of persons in the county who has any authority to control the situation. Second, under the present method, no provision is made for those who have chronic diseases." (Mrs. Harold Edwards addressing the Stroudsburg Civic Club.)

"Most pitiful are the conditions of those with incurable diseases. Neighbors do what they can for them, but as the condition becomes chronic, and needs daily treatment and trained care to prevent secondary complications amateur help becomes cruelly inadequate." (Miss Margaret Bisbing, Red Cross Public Health nurse.)

"Local overseers of the poor are doing the best they can for their charges, but they need more than the ordinary attention which can be given them in a private home. It is not the fault of the overseers in most instances, but the fault of an antiquated system which savors of barbarism. Nobody can be found in their townships who will care for the poor except those who do it because they badly need the money. The farmers who live in comfortable homes do not want to care for the poor.

"It is to be deplored that we have permitted these conditions of neglect and abuse to exist for so long. Most of us have not taken the trouble to inform ourselves about the administration of the poor funds, or about these unhappy persons who, from lack of family and friends to take care of them, have become dependent on the charity of the boroughs and townships. We have been utterly indifferent to the needs of our poor, and now we are shocked and humiliated at the revelations of the results of our negligence." (The Record, Stroudsburg.)

SUMMARY OF OBJECTIONS TO TOWNSHIP AND BOROUGH SYSTEM

Summing up the objections to the antiquated township and borough poor relief system, it may be said that:

1. The township and borough system of poor relief is indefensible from the dollars and cents point of view. The figures in this study entirely disprove the assertion that the system is the most economical and least irksome to the taxpayers. Though vastly less efficient than the county unit poor relief administration, it is more costly.

In the ten-year period, 1915-1924, the county unit poor districts, representing 50 per cent. of the State's population, raised \$26,000,000 in poor taxes. During the same period the counties under the township and borough system of poor relief, having 8 per cent. of the State's population, raised \$7,000,000, which means that they had to raise \$2,842,000, or *40 per cent. more in proportion than the county unit poor districts.*

Between 1910 and 1920 the county unit poor districts' increase in population was 13 per cent. and the increase in poor taxes 73 per cent. In the counties under the township and borough system the increase in population was only 4 per cent. while the increase in poor taxes was 71 per cent.—*A ratio 47 per cent. greater than that of the county unit poor districts.*

Based on the 1920 population, the per capita poor tax, of the county unit poor districts for the ten-year period, 1915-1924, was \$6.10; that of the township and borough poor relief counties \$10.27, or 68 per cent. more.

The cost of maintaining the inmates in our county unit almshouses, during the year 1923, was about 77 cents a day. Contrast this with the cost of maintenance of the inmates in the small township and borough almshouses which was \$1.06 per day, or 38 per

CHART I

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

PER CAPITA POOR TAXES

10 YEAR PERIOD - 1915-1924

[COUNTIES GROUPED ACCORDING TO PREVAILING
TYPE OF POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION.]

<u>TYPE OF POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION</u>	<u>AMOUNTS PER CAPITA</u>
COUNTY UNITS	\$ 6.10
TOWNSHIPS AND BOROUGHs	\$ 10.27
CENTRALIZED POOR DISTRICTS	\$ 16.63
ALLEGHENY AND PHILADELPHIA CO'S.	\$ 18.43
THE STATE	\$ 11.58

cent. more. It should be pointed out, however, that in some of our small poor farms run by townships and boroughs the cost of maintenance of inmates is as high as \$5 per day.

2. The township and borough system is indefensible from the humane point of view because the care of the dependents and unfortunates is left to local overseers who, though no doubt well-intentioned, generally lack the broad experience and vision which proper dealing with our dependent classes demands. Poor relief is more or

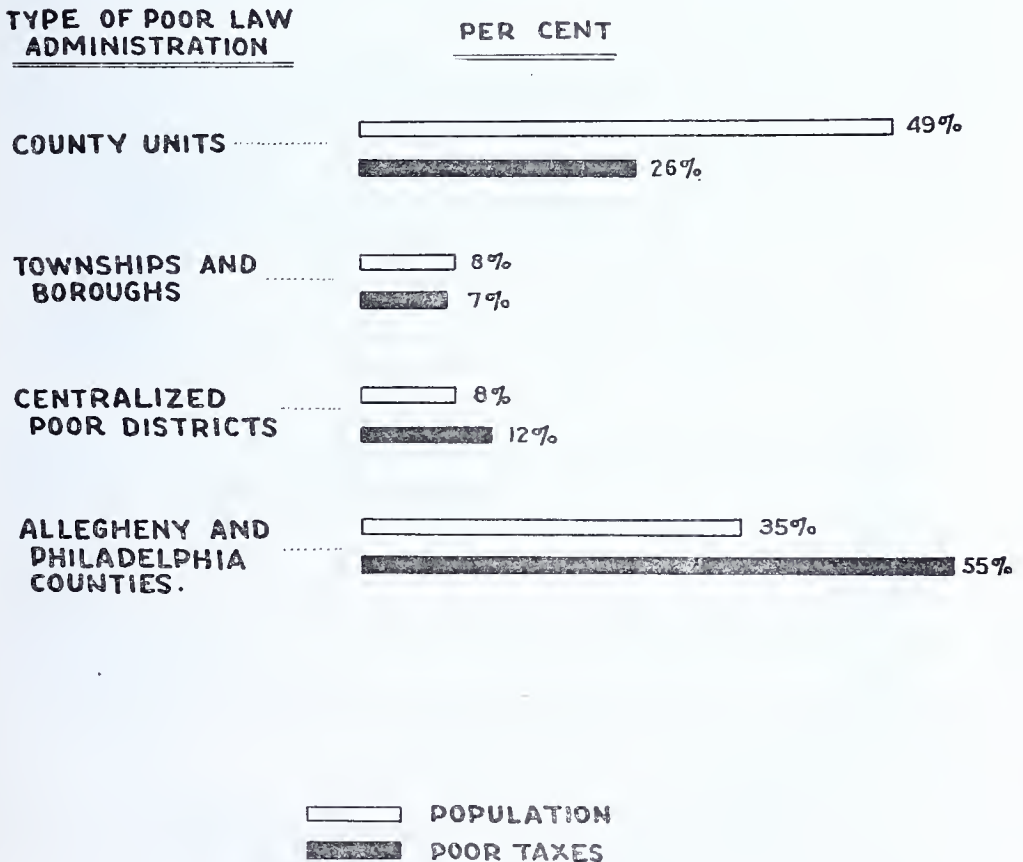
less a personal matter with the overseer, and prejudice, misinformation, enmity or favoritism frequently enter into the work and bring injustice, misery and suffering.

CHART K

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

POOR TAXATION AND POPULATION

PER CENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1920 POPULATION
AND TOTAL POOR TAXES FOR TEN YEAR PERIOD
1915-1924 BY COUNTIES GROUPED ACCORDING
TO PREVAILING TYPES OF POOR LAW ADMINIS-
TRATION.



The desire for economy on the part of the overseer takes on forms in which the poor are placed out with people who will board them at the cheapest rate, themselves often not far above the poverty and degredation line. The chronically ill and infirm who need special

care are boarded out to places where often the elementary facilities for the proper care of normal and healthy human beings are not available. Old folks, crippled and helpless, are given inadequate aid and permitted to shift for themselves. Stories of neglect, abuse and inhuman treatment are by no means isolated and can be duplicated a great many of our poor districts which probably pride themselves on having no poor and no particular problems of dependency or degeneracy.

The overseers' chief concern quite often would seem to be in shifting of responsibility. Petty litigation regarding the legal settlement is the order of the day, which defeats the very purposes of poor relief.

Most of the little almshouses or poor farms maintained by township and borough poor districts are utterly unfit as institutions for the present day type of inmates—the chronically ill and infirm. Compared with what an institution of this kind should be they are hopelessly deficient in equipment, in food service, in medical care and in competent supervision. It is not possible to run good almshouses with the small number of inmates to be maintained, for the cost of employment of a competent staff and the establishment of hospital facilities becomes prohibitive. It will be found that in most of the poor farms the inmates do not receive the treatment their peculiar physical or mental conditions warrant, and the conditions under which some are compelled to live are indeed pitiable.

WHY A COUNTY UNIT POOR RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

(1) Long experience has shown that the county unit poor relief administration is the best for caring for the indigent poor.

(2) The county unit administration gives opportunity to gain a view of the dependency situation of the county as a whole and to devise adequate methods for dealing with it. It substitutes larger and unprejudiced control of poor affairs for the personal attitude of overseers and prejudiced local control.

(3) The centralization of poor affairs in the county makes larger resources available for the erection of an institution suitable to present day needs. It permits the acquisition of standard physical equipment for the care of the chronically ill and infirm. It makes possible the employment of a competent and trained staff.

(4) Through the county unit it is possible to secure the services of a few high-class poor relief officials with adequate pay, as against a multitude of overseers with salaries, small indeed, but amounting to a considerable sum in the aggregate. Trained service in the administration of outdoor relief can be employed.

(5) Disputes as to the enforcement of the laws and settlement and removals will be much less frequent, and petty but costly litigations between small local units will be obviated

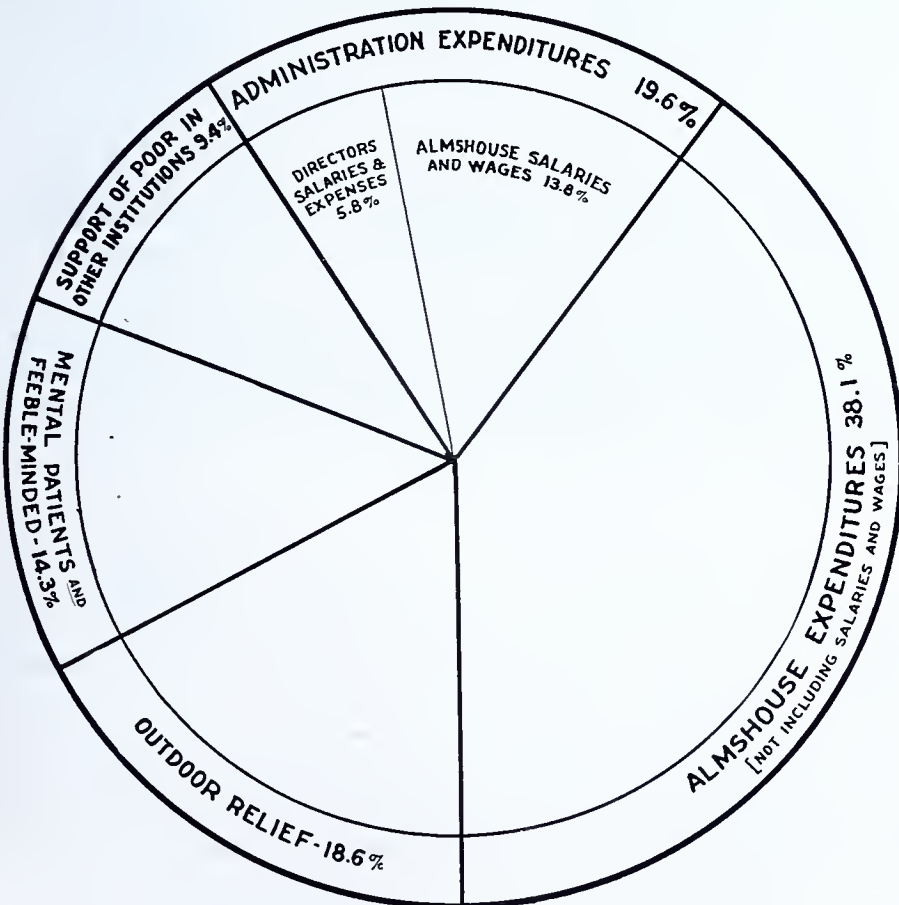
(6) The county unit poor law administration lightens the burden of poor taxation by spreading it out over a considerable territory and the money raised is spent in a way to do the greatest good to the greatest number.

Statistics on poor relief expenditures have shown conclusively that proper maintenance of the indigent poor in modern, well-equipped almshouses is less costly than maintenance in local and inadequate poor farms or boarding the poor out in irresponsible homes.

CHART L

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

POOR RELIEF EXPENDITURES 1923



TOTAL POOR RELIEF EXPENDITURES 1923.....\$ 7,256,137

But even if the total costs under a county unit administration are no less than those of the township and borough system, we may expect to get 100 per cent returns for our expenditures and what is more, we will have received services which are immeasurably superior.

VII. SUMMARY OF POOR RELIEF EXPENDITURES 1923

A summary of the estimated poor relief expenditures for all the poor districts in the State combined is shown in Table 31.

TABLE XXXI

Summary of Poor Relief Expenditures 1923

Purpose	Amount	Per cent
Administration Expenditures -----	\$1,420,092 69	19.6
Directors' Salaries & Expenses -----	420,589 00	5.8
Almshouse Salaries & Wages -----	999,503 69	13.8
Almshouse Expenditures (not including salaries & wages) -----	2,766,340 34	38.1
Outdoor Relief -----	1,349,203 33	18.6
Mental Patients & Feeble-Minded -----	1,037,832 23	14.3
Support of Poor in Other Institutions -----	682,669 25	9.4
Grand Total -----	\$7,256,137 84	100.0

Commenting upon these figures, it may be said that out of every dollar expended for poor relief purposes, over fifty cents goes for the maintenance of inmates in almshouses, and almost twenty cents for outdoor relief.

The administration expenditures constitute about one-fifth of the total poor relief expenditures. Out of every dollar expended, the directors' salaries and expenses consume almost 6 cents, and the almshouse salaries and wages nearly 14 cents.

VIII. SUMMARY POOR RELIEF PROGRAM

What a forward looking poor relief program should be for Pennsylvania, a program which would effectively attack the essential problems of poverty as they present themselves in our State and at the same time permit utilization of our opportunities to the utmost in the *prevention of poverty and dependency*, has been described in considerable detail in the various chapters of this report. For the sake of convenience, it is here summarized in a few salient points:

- (1) Make the county the unit of poor relief administration and abolish the township and borough systems. Experience has shown that the county system is the best for the purpose.

(2) Create adequate provisions in the almshouse equipment for the present-day type of inmates—the chronically ill and infirm. This means that the farming side of our almshouse administration must become subordinate entirely to that of properly taking care of the inmates and that the almshouse must be “hospitalized.” Upon admission to the almshouse there should be a thorough medical examination of the inmates for proper classification and treatment. This treatment must include such forms of occupation as are within the physical ability of the inmates to perform.

(3) The poor boards must be made to realize that outdoor relief should not be mere almsgiving through an endless chain of grocery orders, but that they should employ paid, full-time welfare workers to do constructive family case work.

The poor directors’ knowledge of the local neighborhood is of value in supplementing the results of systematic investigations, but we cannot expect the directors, who give only part time, to do the whole job, keeping in constant touch with all the families in their charge.

It is absolutely essential that there be close co-operation between the official poor board and private charitable agencies, if the best results are to be obtained.

(4) We must realize that even if the county unit type of administration prevails in all our counties, some of the less populous counties do not have the resources to maintain the modern hospitalized county home. Where such conditions prevail every effort should be made to have the smaller counties join forces and thus establish a more effective and economical poor relief administration.

(5) Finally, there should be clearer recognition of the fact that there is a close relation between dependency and unemployment, industrial accidents and occupational diseases, and careful inquiry should be conducted to determine more accurately the proper methods for the alleviation of this “industrial dependency.”

IX. APPENDIX
TABLE XXXII
THE POOR DISTRICTS OF PENNSYLVANIA—1925.
(Almshouse Districts listed separately)

County and Poor District	When Cre- ated	Administered by	Population 1920	Number of Poor Districts	Number of Poor Relief Officials	Location of Almshouse	Average Number Supported 1923
Adams	1817	Directors of the Poor	34,583	1	3	Gettysburg	46
Allegheny							
County (not including Pittsburgh)	1852	Directors of the Poor	1,185,808 597,465	2 1	4 3	Woodville	474
Pittsburgh City	1847	Department of Public Welfare	588,343	1	1	Mayview	750
Armstrong							
Kittanning Borough	1836	Overseers of the Poor	75,568 7,153	45 1	90 2	Kittanning	12
Manor Township	1871	Overseers of the Poor	3,729	1	2	Ford City	
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts							
Beaver		Overseers of the Poor	64,686	43	86		
	1879	County Commissioners	111,621	1	3	Monaca	86
Bedford							
	1841	Directors of the Poor	38,277	1	3	Bedford	62
Berks							
	1824	Directors of the Poor	200,854	1	3	Shillington	304
Blair							
	1860	Directors of the Poor	128,334	1	3	Holidaysburg	114
Bradford							
	1879	County Commissioners	53,166	1	3	Burlington	150
Bucks							
	1807	Directors of the Poor	82,476	1	3	Doylestown	83
Butler							
	1879	County Commissioners	77,270	1	3	Butler	80
Cambria							
	1854	Directors of the Poor	197,839	1	3	Ebensburg	140
Cameron		Overseers of the Poor	6,297	7	14		

Carbon			62,565	15	33	
Middle Coal Field District (Includes portions of Luzerne and Carbon Counties)	1862	Directors of the Poor appointed by President Judge of the Court of Carbon County		1	5	Weatherly
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts			24,920	14	28	
Centre			44,304	35	70	
Belleville Borough		Overseers of the Poor	3,996	1	2	Belleville
Philipsburg Borough		Overseers of the Poor	3,900	1	2	Philipsburg
Rush Township		Overseers of the Poor	4,645	1	2	Philipsburg
Spring Township		Overseers of the Poor	2,948	1	2	Axemann
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts						
Chester	1798	Overseers of the Poor	28,815	31	62	
Clarion	1879	Directors of the Poor	115,120	1	3	Embreeville
Clearfield	1879	County Commissioners	36,170	1	3	Sligo
Clinton	1866	County Commissioners	103,236	1	3	Clearfield
Lock Haven		Overseers of the Poor	33,555	29	57	
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts			8,557	1	1	Lock Haven
Columbia		Overseers of the Poor	24,998	28	56	
Bloom Poor District	1869	Directors of the Poor	48,349	27	56	
Centralia Borough and Conyngham Township Poor District	1869	Directors of the Poor	11,816	1	3	Bloomsburg
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts			4,928	1	3	Centralia
Crawford	1879	Overseers of the Poor	31,605	25	50	
Cumberland	1807	County Commissioners	60,667	1	3	Saegerstown
Dauphin	1806	Directors of the Poor	58,578	1	3	Carlisle
Delaware	1804	Directors of the Poor	153,116	1	3	Harrisburg
		Directors of the Poor	173,084	1	3	Lima

THE POOR DISTRICTS OF PENNSYLVANIA — 1925. (Continued)

County and Poor District	When Cre- ated	Administered by	Population 1920	Number of Poor Districts	Number of Poor Relief Officials	Location of Almshouse	Average Number Supported 1923
Elk -----	1879	County Commissioners -----	34,981	1	3	St. Mary's -----	95
Erie -----	1840	Directors of the Poor -----	153,536	1	3	Erie -----	162
Fayette -----	1822	Directors of the Poor -----	188,104	1	3	Uniontown -----	150
Forest -----	1879	County Commissioners -----	7,477	1	3	Tionesta -----	10
Franklin -----	1807	Directors of the Poor -----	62,275	1	3	Chambersburg -----	94
Fulton -----		Overseers of the Poor -----	9,617	12	24		
Green -----	1850	Directors of the Poor -----	30,804	1	3	Waynesburg -----	34
Huntingdon -----	1859	Directors of the Poor -----	39,848	1	3	Shirkysburg -----	35
Indiana -----	1879	County Commissioners -----	80,910	1	3	Indiana -----	63
Jefferson -----	1879	County Commissioners -----	62,104	1	3	Brookville -----	81
Junata -----		Overseers of the Poor -----	14,464	17	34		
Lackawanna -----			286,311	21	65		
Blakely Poor District -----	1861	Directors of the Poor appointed by the President Judge of Lacka- wanna County -----					
Carbondale City -----	1860	Directors of the Poor -----	52,307	1	3	Olyphant -----	75
Jenkins Township, Pittston City and Pittston Township Poor District (In- cludes portions of Lackawanna and Luzerne Counties) -----	1857	Directors of the Poor appointed by President Judge of Luzerne County -----	88,197 3(34,669) 4(48,528)	1	5	Ransom -----	87
Lake View Poor District -----	1838	Directors of the Poor -----	8,992	1	12	Clark's Summit -----	10

Scranton City Poor District	1862	Directors of the Poor appointed by the President Judge of Lackawanna County	154,061	1	7	Clark's Summit	161
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts		Overseers of the Poor	17,642	16	32		
Lancaster	1798	Directors of the Poor	173,797	1	6	Lancaster	112
Lawrence		Directors of the Poor	85,545	25	49		
New Castle City	1866	Director of the Poor	44,938	1	1	New Castle	11
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts		Overseers of the Poor	40,697	24	43		
Lebanon	1830	Directors of the Poor	63,152	1	3	Lebanon	92
Lehigh	1814	Directors of the Poor	148,101	1	3	Wescosville	187
Luzerne		Directors of the Poor appointed by the Court of Luzerne County in banc.	390,991	35	76		
Central Poor District	1860	Directors of the Poor	240,077	1	8	Retreat	348
Jenkins Township, Pittston City and Pittston Township Poor District (See Lackawanna County)		Overseers of the Poor	40,763	34	68		
Middle Coal Field Poor District (See Carbon County)		Directors of the Poor	83,100	52	105	Williamsport	43
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts		Overseers of the Poor	36,198	1	3		
Lycoming	1844	Directors of the Poor	46,962	51	102		
Williamsport City		County Commissioners	48,934	2	4	Smithport	50
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts		Superintendent of Public Safety	33,409	1	3		
McKean	1879	Directors of the Poor	15,525	1	1	Degolia	19
County (not including Bradford City)		Directors of the Poor	93,788	1	3	Mercer	220
Bradford City	1850	Directors of the Poor	31,439	1	3	Lewistown	44
Mercer		Directors of the Poor					
Mifflin	1850	Directors of the Poor					

THE POOR DISTRICTS OF PENNSYLVANIA — 1925. (Continued)

County and Poor District	When Cre- ated	Administered by	Population 1920	Number of Poor Districts	Number of Poor Relief Officials	Location of Almshouse	Average Number Supported 1923
Monroe			24,295	19	38		
East Stroudsburg Borough		Overseers of the Poor	4,855	1	2	East Stroudsburg	5
Stroudsburg Borough	1863	Overseers of the Poor	5,278	1	2	Stroudsburg	3
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts							
Montgomery			15,162	17	34		
Overseers of the Poor		Overseers of the Poor					
Directors of the Poor	1836	Directors of the Poor	199,310	1	3	Royersford	173
Montour			14,080	10	20		
Danville Borough and Mahoning Town- ship Poor District	1854	Directors of the Poor	10,016	1	3	Danville	13
Valley Township	1867	Directors of the Poor	550	1	3	Mansdale	
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts			3,514	8	14		
Overseers of the Poor		Overseers of the Poor					
Directors of the Poor	1837	Directors of the Poor	153,506	1	3	Nazareth	223
Northampton			122,079	36	73		
Northumberland							
Coal Township and Shamokin Borough Poor District	1863	Directors of the Poor	38,778	1	3	Shamokin	58
Milton Borough	1821	Overseers of the Poor	8,638	1	2	Milton	12
Mount Carmel Borough	1863	Overseers of the Poor	17,469	1	2	Crowl	18
Sunbury Borough		Overseers of the Poor	15,721	1	2	Sunbury	12
Zerbe Township		Overseers of the Poor	2,679	1	2	Trevorton	6
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts			38,794	31	62		
Perry	1824	Overseers of the Poor	22,875	1	3	Loysville	50
Directors of the Poor		Directors of the Poor					

Philadelphia Bristol Township (Comprises greater part of 42nd Ward) -----	1823	Directors of the Poor -----	1,823,779	7	3	
Byberry Poor District (1st Division of 35th Ward) -----				1		
Germentown (Greater part of 2nd Ward)	1809	Directors of the Poor -----		1	8	78
Moreland Township (Part of 35th Ward)				1		
Oxford and Lower Dublin (Includes portions of 23rd, 35th and 41st Wards)	1807	Directors of the Poor -----		1	4	61
Roxborough (Includes sections of 22nd, 23rd, 35th, 41st and 42nd Wards) -----				1	3	13
Philadelphia (All 48 Wards except Poor Districts listed above) -----	1854	Department of Public Welfare -----		1	1	1036
Pike -----		Overseers of the Poor -----	6,818	13	26	
Potter -----	1879	County Commissioners -----	21,089	1	3	61
Schuylkill -----	1831	Directors of the Poor -----	217,754	1	3	325
Snyder -----		Overseers of the Poor -----	17,129	19	38	
Somerset -----	1845	Directors of the Poor -----	82,112	1	3	68
Sullivan -----		Overseers of the Poor -----	9,530	13	26	
Susquehanna Auburn and Rush Township Poor Dis- trict -----	1870	Directors of the Poor -----	34,763	36	75	
Forest City -----		Overseers of the Poor -----	3,472	1	3	6
Montrose Borough -----	1864	Directors of the Poor -----	6,004	1	2	1
New Milford Township -----	1870	Overseers of the Poor -----	1,661	1	2	1
Susquehanna Depot and Oak and Town- ship Poor District -----	1873	Overseers of the Poor -----	839	1	3	3
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts -----		Overseers of the Poor -----	5,304	1	3	5
Tioga -----	1879	Overseers of the Poor -----	17,483	31	62	
		County Commissioners -----	37,118	1	3	82

THE POOR DISTRICTS OF PENNSYLVANIA 1925---(Concluded.)

County and Poor District	When Cre- ated	Administered by	Population 1920	Number of Poor Districts	Number of Poor Relief Officials	Location of Almshouse	Average Number Supported 1923
Union	-----	Overseers of the Poor	15,850	14	28	-----	-----
Venango	1879	County Commissioners	59,184	1	3	Franklin	47
Warren	1879	County Commissioners	40,024	1	3	Youngsville	76
Washington	1830	Directors of the Poor	188,992	1	3	Washington	221
Wayne	-----	-----	27,435	27	55	-----	-----
Honesdale Borough and Texas Town- ship Poor District 1862	-----	Overseers of the Poor	6,381	1	3	Honesdale	12
Independent Township and Borough Poor Districts	-----	Overseers of the Poor	21,054	26	52	-----	-----
Westmoreland	1849	Directors for the Home for the Destitute	273,568	1	3	Greensburg	335
Wyoming	-----	Overseers of the Poor	14,101	23	46	-----	-----
York	1804	Directors of the Poor	144,521	1	3	York	135

¹Population in Carbon County²Population in Luzerne County³Population in Lackawanna County⁴Population in Luzerne County

TABLE XXXIII

POOR RELIEF TAXATION.

In Specified Years, 1905-1924 inclusive

By Counties

COUNTY	1905	1910	1915	1920	1924
Adams -----	\$ 14,700 00	\$ 10,400 00	\$ 13,200 00	\$ 20,200 00	\$ 23,000 00
Allegheny -----	415,597 49	607,844 00	671,169 60	1,205,118 00	1,431,660 00
Armstrong -----	20,842 29	26,662 84	49,242 91	64,771 42	64,334 77
Beaver -----	30,179 06	39,509 57	149,243 97	68,768 13	82,131 00
Bedford -----	11,500 00	15,000 00	15,000 00	26,333 32	22,050 00
Berks -----	45,000 00	59,762 73	61,200 22	75,613 63	92,516 42
Blair -----	130,000 18	58,591 79	52,240 65	94,711 41	107,307 48
Bradford -----	31,857 78	42,696 77	45,493 25	86,504 52	109,499 41
Bucks -----	17,500 00	16,000 00	15,000 00	15,000 00	20,000 00
Butler -----	41,995 25	32,423 04	35,553 54	49,173 48	41,389 06
Cambria -----	23,390 88	24,269 30	43,133 69	78,333 36	104,000 00
Cameron -----	6,782 22	5,654 59	7,262 28	6,805 65	7,258 23
Carbon -----	38,244 28	35,077 88	55,795 41	66,127 37	99,951 61
Centre -----	32,146 95	32,950 25	32,503 18	38,157 05	32,979 54
Chester -----	57,840 19	66,888 58	88,268 21	132,193 74	135,500 00
Clarion -----	34,197 37	18,072 31	5,597 44	26,307 24	32,928 59
Clearfield -----	49,343 52	51,652 70	62,649 01	95,517 99	104,979 76
Clinton -----	23,157 90	20,885 58	12,254 03	16,621 11	19,878 52
Columbia -----	42,884 03	37,185 86	38,346 92	67,586 97	79,855 96
Crawford -----	21,457 26	26,772 08	35,233 61	50,002 09	75,302 95
Cumberland -----	15,000 00	20,000 00	16,000 00	16,823 85	44,704 14
Dauphin -----	41,000 00	52,500 00	63,609 31	75,000 00	89,116 41
Delaware -----	40,000 00	45,000 00	46,901 59	100,532 80	132,262 62
Elk -----	31,360 00	22,540 00	36,055 00	46,740 00	70,698 00
Erie -----	49,319 14	56,000 00	72,500 00	275,000 00	284,800 00
Fayette -----	48,569 28	43,792 56	55,000 00	103,726 44	107,462 03
Forest -----	11,919 97	8,649 74	8,962 87	9,999 25	13,501 15
Franklin -----	15,022 51	17,690 40	18,842 33	20,498 07	26,896 97
Fulton -----	1,621 06	2,467 62	2,034 44	2,301 96	2,349 14
Greene -----	17,927 57	16,888 37	25,500 00	23,100 00	22,276 44
Huntingdon -----	16,000 00	15,000 00	14,130 00	17,815 00	21,200 00
Indiana -----	29,120 53	60,010 05	24,956 90	49,144 60	55,964 55
Jefferson -----	25,823 68	13,497 14	27,267 59	13,951 03	64,697 37
Juniata -----	12,134 85	9,209 41	11,799 12	11,257 55	11,738 00
Lackawanna -----	147,770 60	227,855 62	286,731 24	508,415 89	555,613 35
Lancaster -----	39,625 74	55,508 96	66,635 62	58,802 75	82,857 64
Lawrence -----	28,179 14	34,184 49	29,351 73	39,002 49	55,490 00
Lebanon -----	18,000 00	26,175 23	20,000 00	27,620 06	32,700 00
Lehigh -----	34,922 01	30,471 75	69,769 82	99,463 60	119,498 37
Luzerne -----	178,357 34	217,366 00	366,463 74	658,568 66	1,232,317 51
Lycoming -----	44,842 87	47,851 39	45,891 97	72,119 79	133,801 05
McKean -----	30,919 87	41,077 70	52,241 98	71,779 32	40,035 29
Mercer -----	35,005 60	39,910 52	47,818 39	64,570 53	52,500 00
Mifflin -----	4,550 00	6,400 00	8,460 00	10,400 00	12,400 00
Monroe -----	11,727 55	12,363 68	13,027 62	14,175 66	19,715 25
Montgomery -----	47,918 37	47,394 33	44,173 51	94,589 62	120,000 00
Montour -----	10,622 02	13,428 55	13,261 38	10,533 04	16,779 46
Northampton -----	35,036 99	22,000 00	37,618 07	63,382 42	88,000 94
Northumberland -----	95,781 23	93,767 09	179,046 04	282,763 84	287,342 84
Perry -----	10,027 11	9,067 47	8,724 58	9,924 09	8,297 17
Philadelphia -----	302,555 04	1,812,938 28	2,171,709 27	3,233,695 01	4,500,532 53
Pike -----	3,393 78	4,053 03	3,857 01	5,702 77	6,939 64
Potter -----	38,931 45	18,719 00	18,267 61	33,558 47	48,897 71
Schuylkill -----	115,540 00	116,405 00	125,707 00	178,375 00	198,586 00
Snyder -----	8,329 88	8,388 74	8,228 18	10,066 24	9,676 59
Somerset -----	15,000 00	20,000 00	10,000 00	15,000 00	23,000 00
Sullivan -----	6,783 44	9,000 00	8,865 05	12,316 11	9,217 81
Susquehanna -----	27,366 17	29,954 20	27,397 97	28,469 49	46,668 45
Tioga -----	28,249 30	29,928 59	41,619 83	45,044 48	52,488 33
Union -----	16,129 13	14,458 09	18,424 33	16,479 24	21,188 38
Venango -----	24,705 73	50,717 90	26,725 02	27,917 51	60,774 00
Warren -----	18,238 23	33,473 66	35,081 54	29,983 26	34,712 15
Washington -----	32,250 00	54,932 33	67,737 02	92,145 71	160,112 97
Wayne -----	14,570 92	23,192 81	24,723 04	27,476 31	29,303 45
Westmoreland -----	70,000 00	69,543 23	70,000 00	125,000 00	333,248 79
Wyoming -----	5,802 12	5,416 28	7,517 61	10,078 02	9,866 70
York -----	30,000 00	41,500 00	50,300 00	52,850 31	56,957 23
Total -----	\$ 2,975,081 87	\$ 4,878,969 48	\$ 5,917,542 64	\$ 9,080,006 72	\$ 12,093,768 93

TABLE XXXIV

POOR TAXATION and GENERAL TAXATION.

Total and per capita Poor Taxes, Total Taxes, and percentages of Poor Taxes are of Total Taxes.
Ten Year Period Years 1915-1924 combined.

County	Urban or Rural	Population (1920)	Poor Taxes 1915-1924 Inclusive		Total Taxes 1915-1924 Inclusive Amount	Per Cent Poor Taxes are of Total Taxes
			Amount	Per Capita		
Adams	Rural	34,583	\$ 207,650 00	6.00	\$ 3,450,798 52	6.0
Allegheny	Urban	1,185,808	13,656,206 53	11.52	370,551,021 20	3.7
Armstrong	Rural	75,568	633,713 36	8.39	9,111,490 87	7.0
Beaver	Urban	111,621	1,054,953 67	9.45	20,809,604 89	5.1
Bedford	Rural	38,277	210,245 96	5.49	3,481,012 23	6.0
Berks	Urban	200,854	749,659 47	3.73	26,238,959 67	2.9
Blair	Urban	128,334	848,662 64	6.61	19,156,976 67	4.4
Bradford	Rural	53,166	877,866 83	16.51	9,539,685 49	9.2
Bucks	Rural	82,476	130,000 00	2.18	11,663,537 61	1.5
Butler	Rural	77,270	494,420 62	6.40	9,465,832 47	5.2
Cambria	Urban	197,839	727,465 90	3.68	43,972,336 79	1.5
Cameron	Rural	6,297	71,395 36	11.34	946,647 07	7.5
Carbon	Urban	62,565	703,064 66	11.24	8,257,938 29	8.5
Centre	Rural	44,304	368,061 50	8.32	4,639,178 29	7.8
Chester	Rural	115,120	1,189,465 12	10.33	17,077,617 94	7.0
Clarion	Rural	36,170	305,148 41	8.44	3,993,289 32	7.6
Clearfield	Rural	103,236	900,210 49	8.72	7,292,496 32	12.3
Clinton	Rural	33,555	171,032 34	5.10	4,321,805 43	4.1
Columbia	Rural	48,349	627,684 99	12.98	6,454,264 31	9.7
Crawford	Rural	60,667	531,460 21	9.53	7,608,958 25	7.6
Cumberland	Rural	58,578	322,114 38	5.50	7,262,351 39	4.4
Dauphin	Urban	153,116	745,552 84	4.87	23,808,852 48	3.1
Delaware	Urban	173,084	1,015,855 90	5.87	32,052,067 60	3.2
Elk	Urban	34,981	511,501 00	14.62	4,674,048 00	10.9
Erie	Urban	153,536	1,775,300 00	11.56	30,746,345 21	5.8
Fayette	Rural	183,104	921,576 29	4.90	35,749,759 00	2.6
Forest	Rural	7,477	103,392 05	13.83	1,079,115 31	9.6
Franklin	Rural	62,275	214,829 22	3.45	6,783,654 38	3.2
Fulton	Rural	9,617	19,921 57	2.07	692,600 62	2.9
Greene	Rural	30,804	251,405 39	8.16	7,427,911 96	3.4
Huntingdon	Rural	39,848	172,846 09	4.34	3,574,277 20	4.5
Indiana	Rural	80,910	466,384 13	5.76	8,038,109 14	5.8
Jefferson	Rural	62,104	311,522 03	5.02	5,881,103 64	5.3

Juniata	Rural	14,464	118,705 03	8.21	1,372,531 85	8.6
Lackawanna	Urban	286,311	4,743,292 27	16.57	52,184,925 18	9.1
Lancaster	Rural	173,797	681,007 85	3.95	18,022,088 66	3.8
Lawrence	Urban	89,349	424,328 63	5.00	15,252,323 92	2.8
Lebanon	Rural	65,162	206,190 69	4.22	9,705,844 62	2.7
Lehigh	Rural	140,004	948,901 49	6.39	23,801,984 70	4.0
Luzerne	Urban	360,991	6,860,652 80	17.55	79,698,608 48	8.6
Lycoming	Urban	58,100	728,349 83	18.76	12,156,521 75	6.0
McLean	Rural	48,534	639,269 38	13.47	8,240,314 82	8.0
Mercer	Urban	96,188	517,726 95	6.10	15,639,471 04	3.6
Mifflin	Rural	31,439	115,840 00	3.68	3,626,475 02	3.2
Monroe	Rural	24,235	161,314 04	6.64	3,092,992 72	5.2
Montgomery	Rural	169,310	849,872 75	4.26	39,784,147 66	2.1
Montour	Rural	14,080	139,187 61	9.89	1,539,650 55	9.0
Northampton	Urban	153,506	596,883 90	3.89	25,436,078 54	2.3
Northumberland	Urban	122,079	2,477,321 16	20.29	21,397,971 28	11.6
Perry	Rural	22,845	92,946 28	4.06	2,249,965 41	4.1
Philadelphia	Urban	1,833,779	41,822,982 95	22.93	484,951,046 60	8.6
Pike	Rural	6,818	49,427 71	7.25	906,292 41	5.1
Potter	Rural	21,089	297,657 94	14.11	2,259,797 92	1.3
Schuykill	Urban	217,754	1,678,469 50	7.71	31,945,173 44	5.3
Snyder	Rural	17,129	102,144 55	5.96	1,500,004 36	6.8
Somerset	Rural	82,112	186,500 00	2.27	10,427,172 83	1.8
Sullivan	Rural	9,520	106,619 63	11.20	1,327,668 96	8.0
Susquehanna	Rural	34,763	325,766 83	9.37	4,427,198 84	7.4
Tioga	Rural	37,118	447,911 14	12.97	5,433,201 66	8.2
Union	Rural	15,856	179,483 51	11.34	1,853,996 03	9.7
Venango	Urban	59,184	395,332 01	6.74	9,313,193 70	4.3
Warren	Rural	40,024	332,946 28	8.32	6,809,238 56	4.9
Washington	Rural	188,992	1,011,834 18	5.35	32,644,826 48	3.1
Wayne	Rural	27,435	254,191 41	9.27	3,627,018 61	7.0
Westmoreland	Rural	273,568	1,346,962 17	4.92	40,286,400 52	3.3
Wyoming	Rural	14,101	93,708 50	6.65	1,968,114 87	4.8
York	Rural	144,521	525,714 44	3.62	17,419,269 87	3.0
Total		8,720,017	\$ 100,990,212 88	\$ 11.58	\$ 1,752,994,828 11	5.8

TABLE XXXV

ALMSHOUSE EXPENDITURES—1923.

Eighty-six Poor Districts Reporting.

(By Counties and Almshouse Districts)

County and Poor District	Average No. of Inmates Maintained	Almshouse Expenditures ¹					Grand Total Almshouse Expenditures
		Admini- stration	Operation of Plant	Inmates Maintenance	Total Current Expenses	Building Improvements etc.	
Adams	46	\$ 5,824 92	\$ 8,931 62	\$ 6,579 94	\$ 21,336 48	\$ 374 50	\$ 21,710 98
Allegheny—County Home	474	72,320 31	91,981 09	79,314 73	243,616 13	48,942 41	292,558 54
Allegheny—Pittsburgh City	750	213,136 20	101,471 31	240,025 26	554,632 77	48,112 71	602,745 48
Armstrong—Kittanning Boro	12	1,787 50	1,879 84	1,597 54	5,264 88	0	5,264 88
Armstrong—Manor Township	0	213 50	139 41	0	352 91	216 00	568 91
Beaver	86	6,994 98	15,097 01	8,744 74	30,836 73	1,727 70	32,564 43
Bedford	62	4,488 28	5,725 95	3,870 38	14,084 61	1,783 81	15,868 42
Berks	304	23,755 08	36,980 48	13,145 29	73,880 85	2,824 56	76,705 41
Blair	114	7,268 18	22,648 93	15,556 36	45,473 47	78 20	45,551 67
Bradford	150	7,988 75	6,018 32	8,524 60	22,531 67	0	22,531 67
Bucks	83	7,670 78	6,631 19	7,586 97	21,888 94	0	21,888 94
Butler	80	6,401 40	10,335 61	6,959 57	23,366 58	13,070 11	36,436 69
Cambria	140	9,482 59	13,451 63	8,299 51	31,233 73	3,978 19	35,211 92
Carbon—Middle Coal Field	71	12,872 28	12,835 44	7,995 16	33,702 88	4,607 04	38,309 92
Centre—Belleville Boro	5	438 00	406 91	764 16	1,609 07	0	1,609 07
Centre—Phillipsburg Boro	1	618 00	69 45	110 81	798 26	0	798 26
Centre—Rush Township	2	600 15	869 92	214 53	1,744 60	324 04	2,068 64
Centre—Spring Township	0	600 00	0	0	600 00	0	600 00
Chester	172	15,237 43	9,042 08	2,225 45	26,505 56	11,215 22	37,720 78
Clarion	37	3,482 50	4,954 78	4,683 69	13,119 77	5,960 00	19,079 77
Clearfield	115	7,451 98	6,396 70	7,666 35	21,515 03	1,082 00	22,597 03
Clinton—Lock Haven	17	1,957 00	593 51	1,442 82	3,993 33	0	3,993 33
Columbia—Bloom Poor District	15	2,060 80	2,464 28	1,758 17	5,993 25	2,381 63	8,284 88
Columbia—Conyngham & Centralia	15	2,106 90	2,371 82	2,910 43	7,389 15	3,253 00	10,642 15
Crawford	99	8,088 67	16,213 76	6,710 03	31,012 46	0	31,012 46
Cumberland	61	11,060 93	8,972 45	4,906 62	24,940 00	31 00	24,971 00
Dauphin	187	13,891 11	16,720 82	10,600 70	41,212 63	14,217 76	55,430 39
Delaware	121	13,375 53	18,120 00	10,276 85	41,772 38	8,635 45	50,407 83
Elk	95	3,632 17	18,687 00	8,724 67	31,044 54	2,373 59	33,618 13
Erie	162	12,527 46	12,368 15	10,395 25	35,290 86	78,723 97	114,014 83

150	Fayette	15,438 21	12,755 46	19,029 71	47,223 38	9,493 74	56,717 12
10	Forest	2,432 61	1,780 58	812 48	5,025 67	0	5,025 67
94	Franklin	4,848 28	6,983 74	6,644 87	18,476 80	436 32	18,913 21
34	Greene	1,738 19	2,749 02	3,770 61	8,257 82	0	8,257 82
35	Huntingdon	3,282 25	2,370 35	1,804 18	7,456 78	0	7,456 78
68	Indiana	8,753 81	6,639 76	6,122 51	21,516 08	10,415 00	31,531 08
81	Jefferson	5,761 86	5,056 23	3,957 54	14,815 53	0	14,815 53
75	Lackawanna	15,873 10	16,539 17	11,086 06	43,558 33	2,622 71	46,181 04
22	Carbondale City	1,449 00	4,162 06	2,777 74	8,388 80	0	8,388 80
87	Jenkins Township	5,990 00	8,940 50	4,703 50	19,634 00	3,725 00	23,359 00
10	ston Twp. Poor District	3,144 97	2,434 75	3,008 47	8,588 19	630 95	9,219 14
161	Lake View Poor Dist.	72,523 30	80,844 34	49,758 28	203,125 92	6,003 00	209,128 92
112	Seranton Poor Dist.	12,922 08	8,021 57	6,445 95	27,389 00	0	27,389 00
11	Lawrence-New Oastle	2,005 77	899 80	804 01	3,710 58	2,911 00	6,621 58
92	Lebanon	6,993 00	12,635 00	4,004 00	23,634 00	2,000 00	25,634 00
187	Lehigh	13,065 95	19,546 90	6,655 31	39,268 16	270 10	39,538 26
348	Laurence-Central Poor District	32,980 91	95,345 45	17,922 59	146,248 95	20,960 71	167,209 66
43	Lycoming-Williamsport	2,410 30	3,311 65	4,300 67	10,022 62	2,643 62	12,666 24
19	Mcnean-Bradford City	3,002 00	3,290 49	2,123 36	8,424 94	2,347 62	11,068 56
50	County Home	5,694 31	9,553 12	4,283 61	19,481 04	2,647 62	21,828 10
220	Mercer	18,664 08	13,967 85	13,525 12	46,157 65	6,219 91	52,377 56
44	Mifflin	2,479 00	2,791 39	1,694 99	6,965 38	91 00	7,056 38
5	Mouroe-East Stroudsburg	0	88 77	1,402 50	1,491 27	0	1,491 27
3	Stroudsburg	144 00	288 35	1,492 98	1,925 33	260 39	2,185 72
173	Montgomery	13,407 15	38,818 96	11,336 12	63,622 33	21,977 26	85,599 49
13	Montour-Danville & Mahoning Twp.	3,032 63	1,772 14	1,488 99	6,293 76	0	6,293 76
0	Liberty Township	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	Valley Township	0	0	0	0	0	0
223	Northampton	8,510 60	11,533 03	13,226 12	33,269 75	4,884 57	38,154 32
12	Northumberland-Milton Boro	680 00	890 30	2,032 17	3,602 47	130 60	3,733 07
18	Mount Carmel	1,696 99	1,824 05	1,700 11	5,221 15	2,367 17	7,588 32
0	Northumberland	100 00	4 00	0	104 00	0	104 00
58	Shamokin & Coal Twp.	3,624 00	4,237 09	6,451 40	14,313 30	1,738 88	16,052 27
12	Sunbury	1,310 91	807 24	1,615 17	3,783 22	2,261 29	5,994 61
6	Zerbe Twp.	1,566 50	211 15	378 08	2,155 73	91 60	2,247 33
50	Perry	1,338 99	3,634 21	6,920 24	11,293 94	0	11,293 94
78	Philadelphia-Germantown	7,012 93	9,176 61	10,632 22	26,821 76	7,178 91	34,000 67
1,096	Home for the Indigent	131,823 33	161,778 48	115,006 80	408,908 61	12,545 72	421,154 33
61	Oxford & Lower Dublin	2,573 49	11,495 71	7,839 18	21,968 38	4,724 29	26,692 67
13	Oxford & Lower Dublin	1,296 30	3,873 25	1,736 37	6,845 92	560 00	7,405 92
61	Roxborough	6,659 40	11,243 27	4,860 90	22,617 57	23,317 26	46,934 83
325	Schuylkill	25,481 73	62,507 46	33,031 55	121,020 74	570 27	121,591 01
0	Snyder-Solinsgrove	0	0	0	0	0	0
68	Somerset	2,403 86	5,340 04	6,173 63	13,916 63	383 81	14,300 74
6	Susquehanna-Auburn & Rush	2,200 00	2,383 16	1,265 50	5,848 06	12,993 00	18,841 66
1	Forest City	684 60	2,118 46	701 12	3,564 18	0	3,564 18
1	Monroe	25 05	157 16	276 00	458 21	0	458 21
3	New Milford	859 97	1,692 45	2,761 54	5,223 96	0	5,223 96
5	Susquehanna & Oakland Twp.	1,513 02	1,637 73	1,742 41	4,893 16	690 23	5,583 39

ALMSHOUSE EXPENDITURES—1923. (Continued)

County and Poor District	Average No. of Inmates Maintained	Almshouse Expenditures					Grand Total Almshouse Expenditures
		Admini- stration	Operation of Plant	Inmates Maintenance	Total Current Expenses	Building Improvements etc.	
Tioga	82	5,387 22	9,337 92	5,567 00	20,292 14	932 00	21,224 14
Venango	47	6,514 27	8,199 94	2,127 27	16,841 48	582 00	17,423 48
Warren	76	7,228 64	18,698 27	11,222 46	37,149 37	0	37,149 37
Washington	221	15,504 69	26,798 45	19,700 25	62,003 39	20,230 16	82,233 55
Wayne—Honesdale & Texas Twp.	12	1,670 97	4,062 71	1,674 98	8,017 66	0	8,017 66
Westmoreland	335	17,807 87	16,737 10	18,365 23	52,910 20	176,473 79	229,383 99
York	135	9,266 63	9,423 89	14,521 63	33,212 15	1,390 90	34,603 05
Total	8,628	\$ 969,503 69	\$ 1,203,749 69	\$ 964,127 16	\$ 3,167,380 51	\$ 598,463 54	\$ 3,765,844 08

Administration includes: almshouse salaries, wages, travelling expenses, office expenses, etc.
 Operation of Plant includes: fuel and light, furniture and bedding, shop, garden and farm expenses, ordinary repairs.
 Inmates Maintenance includes: provisions and supplies, clothing and shoes, medicine and medical supplies, burial of inmates.

TABLE XXXVI

CURRENT ALMSHOUSE EXPENDITURES—1923.

(By Counties and Almshouse Districts)

Daily Per Capita Cost of Almshouse Maintenance and Percentage Distribution of Current Almshouse Expenditures for Administration, Operation of Plant and Inmates' Maintenance.

County and Poor District	Per Capita Cost of Maintenance	Per cent of Current Almshouse Expenditures for		
		Administration	Operation of Plant	Inmates' Maintenance Total
Adams	\$1 28	27.3	41.9	30.8 100.0
Allegheny—Allegheny County Home	1 41	29.7	37.8	32.5 100.0
Pittsburgh City	66	38.4	18.3	43.3 100.0
Armstrong—Kittanning Borough	1 20	34.0	35.7	30.3 100.0
Armstrong—Manor Township	1	60.5	39.5	— 100.0
Beaver	98	22.7	49.0	28.3 100.0
Bedford	62	31.9	40.6	27.5 100.0
Berks	67	32.2	50.0	17.8 100.0
Blair	1 08	16.0	49.8	34.2 100.0
Bradford	41	35.5	26.7	37.8 100.0
Bucks	72	35.0	30.3	34.7 100.0
Butler	82	26.1	44.2	29.7 100.0
Cambria	61	30.3	43.1	26.6 100.0
Carbon—Middle Coal Field	1 31	28.2	38.1	23.7 100.0
Centre—Belleville Borough	98	27.2	25.3	47.5 100.0
Philipsburg Borough	2 35	77.4	8.7	13.9 100.0
Rush Township	2 41	37.8	49.9	12.3 100.0
Spring Township	1	100.0	—	— 100.0
Chester	42	57.5	34.1	8.4 100.0
Clarion	96	26.5	37.8	35.7 100.0
Clearfield	51	34.6	29.7	35.7 100.0
Clinton—Lock Haven	65	49.0	14.9	36.1 100.0
Columbia—Bloom Poor District	1 08	28.5	41.7	29.8 100.0
Corryingham & Centalla	1 38	28.5	32.1	39.4 100.0
Crawford	86	26.1	52.3	21.6 100.0
Cumberland	1 11	44.4	35.9	19.7 100.0
Dauphin	60	33.7	40.6	25.7 100.0
Delaware	95	32.0	43.4	24.6 100.0
Elk	89	11.7	60.2	28.1 100.0
Erie	60	35.5	35.0	29.5 100.0
Fayette	86	32.7	27.0	40.3 100.0
Forest	1 43	48.4	35.4	16.2 100.0

CURRENT ALMSHOUSE EXPENDITURES—1923. (Continued)

County and Poor District	Per Capita Cost of Maintenance	Per cent of Current Almshouse Expenditures for			Total
		Administration	Operation of Plant	Inmates Maintenance	
Franklin -----	54	26.2	37.8	36.0	100.0
Greene -----	67	21.0	33.3	45.7	100.0
Huntingdon -----	64	44.0	31.8	24.2	100.0
Indiana -----	87	40.7	30.8	28.5	100.0
Jefferson -----	50	38.9	34.1	27.0	100.0
Lackawanna-----Blakely	1 58	36.4	38.1	25.5	100.0
Carbondale City	1 04	17.3	49.6	33.1	100.0
Jenkins Twp., Pittston City & Pittston Twp. Poor District	62	30.5	45.5	24.0	100.0
Lake View Poor District	2 27	36.6	28.4	35.0	100.0
Seranton Poor District	3 47	35.7	39.8	24.5	100.0
Lancaster -----	67	47.2	29.3	23.5	100.0
Lawrence-New Castle	92	54.1	24.2	21.7	100.0
Lebanon -----	70	29.6	53.4	17.0	100.0
Lehigh -----	58	33.3	49.8	16.9	100.0
Luzerne-Central Poor District	1 15	22.5	65.2	12.3	100.0
Lycoming--Williamsport	64	24.0	33.1	42.9	100.0
McKean-Bradford City	1 25	35.6	39.2	25.2	100.0
County Home	1 07	29.2	49.1	21.7	100.0
Mercer -----	58	40.0	30.3	29.3	100.0
Mifflin -----	43	35.6	40.1	24.3	100.0
Monroe--East Stroudsburg	85	7.5	6.0	94.0	100.0
Stroudsburg -----	1 76	15.0	15.0	77.5	100.0
Montgomery -----	1 01	21.2	61.0	17.8	100.0
Montour-Danville & Mahoning	1 27	48.2	28.2	23.6	100.0
Liberty Township	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
Valley Township	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
Northampton -----	41	25.6	34.7	39.7	100.0
Northumberland-Milton Boro.	81	18.9	24.7	56.4	100.0
Mount Carmel	79	32.5	34.9	32.6	100.0
Northumberland Boro.	1	96.2	3.8	-----	-----
Shamokin & Coal Twp.	67	25.3	29.6	45.1	100.0
Sunbury	96	35.1	21.6	43.3	100.0
Zerbe Twp.	1 04	72.7	9.8	17.5	100.0
Perry -----	62	11.8	26.9	61.3	100.0
Philadelphia-Germantown	94	26.2	34.2	39.6	100.0
Home for the Indigent	1 02	32.3	39.6	28.1	100.0
Oxford & Lower Dublin	98	11.7	52.5	35.8	100.0
Roxborough	1 43	18.0	56.6	25.4	100.0
Potter -----	1 03	29.3	49.4	21.3	100.0
Schuylkill -----	1 02	21.1	51.6	27.3	100.0
Snyder-Selinsgrove	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
Somerset -----	56	17.2	38.4	44.4	100.0

Susquehanna—Auburn & Rush	2 92	37.6	40.8	21.6	100.0
Forest City	9 76	19.2	59.4	21.4	100.0
Montrose	2 96	5.5	34.3	60.2	100.0
New Milford	4 77	16.5	30.6	32.9	100.0
Susquehanna & Oakland Twp.	2 96	30.9	33.5	33.6	100.0
Tioga	65	26.5	46.0	27.5	100.0
Venango	99	38.7	48.7	12.6	100.0
Warren	1 33	19.5	50.3	30.2	100.0
Washington	77	25.0	43.2	31.8	100.0
Wayne—Honesdale & Texas Twp.	1 83	21.0	58.1	20.9	100.0
Westmoreland	43	33.6	31.6	34.7	100.0
York	67	27.9	28.4	43.7	100.0
Total	\$ 1 01	31.6	58.0	30.4	100.0

¹ Maintained no inmates during 1923.

TABLE XXXVII
TOTAL POOR RELIEF EXPENDITURES—1923.
 (By Counties and Almshouse Districts)

County and Poor District	Poor Relief Expenditures					
	Total Almshouse Expenditures	Outdoor Relief	Mental Pa-tients and Feeble-minded	Children in Homes	Support of Poor in other Institu.	All Other Expenses
Adams	\$21,710 98	\$1,833 04	\$3,457 28	---	\$90 05	\$1,391 00
Allegheny—County Home	232,538 54	72,911 50	6,050 18	---	---	12,307 57
Allegheny—Pittsburgh City	602,745 43	3,939 79	4,083 69	---	105 98	383,827 79
Armstrong—Kittanning Borough	5,264 88	5,469 87	1,798 66	\$12 00	---	49,320 85
Armstrong—Manor Township	568 91	686 59	811 71	---	---	1,512 34
Beaver	32,564 43	35,839 29	25,557 75	20,792 91	10,601 52	3,787 75
Bedford	15,868 42	5,706 98	574 28	---	---	1,800 00
Berks	76,705 41	4,989 18	3,135 15	8,185 13	---	2,551 06
Blair	45,551 67	14,770 77	1,512 45	---	---	5,451 77
Bradford	22,531 67	32,484 78	19,556 22	10,149 73	124 03	3,518 85
Bucks	21,888 94	---	43 75	---	---	65,363 74
Butler	36,406 69	7,319 21	19,716 23	3,517 27	51 04	1,845 38
Cambria	35,211 92	58,642 45	3,347 40	2,514 73	1,267 65	2,563 61
Carbon—Middle Coal Field	38,309 92	49,022 21	40,654 95	---	---	2,474 51
Center—Belleville Borough	1,009 07	1,206 65	---	6,026 69	25,689 72	9,827 23
Center—Phillipsburg	798 26	---	1,322 14	---	---	9,359 61
Rush Township	2,008 64	500 00	800 00	208 00	---	1,520 83
Spring Township	600 00	---	---	---	312 86	502 60
Chester	37,720 78	583 43	1,990 27	1,710 04	---	445 00
Clarion	19,079 77	4,368 66	11,375 13	---	---	604 55
Clearfield	22,537 03	19,774 86	29,732 19	8,830 77	10 78	2,434 20
Clinton—Lock Haven	3,903 33	794 37	4,104 23	---	---	15,000 35
Columbia—Bloom Poor District	8,284 88	2,252 94	5,207 27	---	139 50	1,030 00
Columbia—Conyngham and Centralia	10,642 15	6,167 85	2,942 87	---	---	1,234 88
Crawford	31,012 46	6,678 27	27,082 80	---	---	2,333 90
Cumberland	24,971 00	4,743 30	715 70	8,928 60	1,200 00	4,545 50
Dauphin	55,430 39	7,826 68	3,186 52	8,860 23	299 62	79,447 68
Delaware	50,407 83	6,198 09	45,477 53	1,065 50	55 72	3,574 68
Elk	33,618 13	14,045 46	11,505 91	1,439 33	299 62	13,512 97
Erie	114,014 83	26,236 87	56,580 82	1,439 33	1,797 02	6,283 17
Fayette	56,717 12	37,543 53	58,086 25	3,467 93	1,040 30	27,851 24
Forest	5,025 67	761 29	3,137 87	---	247 42	7,941 26
Franklin	18,913 21	5,320 00	1,970 82	1,257 50	---	9,903 57
Greene	8,257 82	2,636 00	5,110 76	---	---	2,502 08
Huntingdon	7,456 78	7,535 25	377 35	1,500 00	668 28	2,665 40
Indiana	31,931 08	5,826 71	13,693 08	3,659 39	---	1,085 43
Jefferson	14,815 43	18,723 50	16,128 49	50 00	45 00	3,537 19
						4,152 40
						53,919 82
						\$23,482 35
						383,827 79
						660,885 79
						14,057 75
						2,445 96
						127,253 90
						24,700 74
						98,466 64
						65,363 74
						86,691 81
						28,064 61
						69,759 02
						107,029 00
						169,063 10
						5,962 55
						2,623 00
						4,334 50
						600 00
						42,614 07
						37,257 76
						95,945 98
						9,941 33
						17,179 27
						22,086 77
						35,432 55
						89,116 41
						111,239 14
						64,439 70
						238,374 42
						164,003 51
						9,828 40
						29,963 71
						18,669 98
						1,085 43
						58,707 45
						53,919 82

Lackawanna—Blakely	46,181 04	23,650 22	1,574 56	2,704 87	32 99	8,829 24	82,972 92
Carbondale City	8,388 80	10,813 38	5,562 55			3,823 49	28,588 22
Jenkins Township, Pittston City & Pittston Twp. Poor District	23,359 00	29,989 75	24,739 42	8,363 93		4,160 00	90,612 10
Lake View Poor District	9,219 14	206 45	1,967 11	11,136 93		315 00	11,707 70
Scranton Poor District	209,128 92	38,654 31	948 59	3,801 60	2,548 00	25,850 39	288,257 13
Lancaster	27,339 60	1,914 24	6,127 20			3,000 00	42,232 64
Lawrence—New Castle	6,621 58	3,987 72	9,164 29			2,380 77	22,154 36
Lebanon	25,634 00	4,195 00	900 00	960 00	45 00	1,400 00	33,074 00
Lehigh	39,538 26	27,238 57	37,615 27	7,282 85		2,451 82	118,889 05
Luzerne—Central Poor District	167,239 66	153,894 36	2,919 52	26,801 83	4,762 28	252,455 82	617,494 42
Lycoming—Williamsport	10,022 62	6,718 50	16,721 63	398 16	14,683 23	3,765 12	37,669 43
McKeen—Bradford City	11,068 56	1,272 01	12,131 90		44 00	2,026 51	27,068 98
County Home	21,858 10	16,389 39	16,337 82	3,975 26	334 80	5,119 81	63,985 18
Mercer	52,377 56	14,218 72	5,289 81	1,086 93		4,046 77	76,969 79
Mifflin	7,056 38	4,366 39	516 28		274 58	455 48	12,669 11
Monroe—East Stroudsburg	1,491 27	2,777 14	656 90		2 14	419 28	2,846 73
Stroudsburg	2,185 72	2,138 92	1,940 57		198 35	439 40	6,902 96
Montgomery	85,599 49	16,929 20	504 01	9,553 59	1,009 89	6,135 86	119,732 04
Montour—Danville and Mahoning Township	6,293 76	659 64	5,026 28			1,456 06	13,435 74
Liberty Township		148 80	117 43			103 14	369 37
Valley Township			625 71			317 46	943 17
Northampton	38,154 32	36,795 04	25 00	8,420 46	156 00	4,509 92	88,000 74
Northumberland—Milton Borough	8,733 07	573 41	3,214 73			1,254 16	8,775 37
Mount Carmel	7,588 32	6,715 00	6,176 95			15,746 19	36,236 46
Northumberland Borough	104 00	320 25	478 62			250 51	1,153 38
Shamokin and Coal Township	16,652 27	46,186 74	17,070 63	502 06	636 30	18,589 92	99,087 92
Sunbury	5,994 61	4,989 57	5,090 14	100 00		3,113 67	19,287 99
Zerbe Township	2,247 33	110 02	1,065 00			900 28	4,322 63
Perry	11,293 94	1,334 69	383 09			797 70	13,800 42
Philadelphia—Germantown	34,000 67	9,653 59	29,632 48	2,984 83	10,669 59	9,562 12	96,503 28
Home for the Indigent	421,154 33	4,924 47	74,203 69	72,598 23	2,500 00	10,760 31	586,141 03
Oxford and Lower Dublin	26,682 67	7,094 64	24,428 87	833 22		6,105 60	65,115 00
Roxborough	7,435 92	170 00	1,642 98	283 76		3,697 14	9,818 66
Potter	23,317 26	10,420 37	8,001 67	1,372 00		9,656 59	46,808 44
Schuylkill	121,591 01	53,569 42	793 50	5,590 77	152 05	109 47	191,353 34
Snyder—Seingsgrove		470 28	165 72			1,007 25	745 47
Somerset	14,300 74	12,159 03	1,387 70		2,884 20	1,007 25	31,748 92
Susquehanna—Auburn and Rush	18,811 66	410 00	1,997 00		1,652 00	507 85	21,808 51
Forest City	3,564 18	582 53	1,947 46		267 50	1,104 00	7,465 67
Montrose	458 21	614 48	117 29			170 00	1,359 98
New Milford	5,293 96		117 29			731 32	6,072 57
Susquehanna and Oakland Township	5,583 39	149 98	2,105 71			364 42	8,293 50
Tioga	21,224 14	10,888 64	16,196 57	3,614 51	111 10	3,471 42	55,506 38
Venango	17,423 48	3,388 23	22,297 01		546 30	2,915 25	46,500 27
Warren	37,149 37	7,294 91	379 86	2,118 75		3,509 07	50,451 96
Washington	82,233 55	9,777 53	30,028 89			4,500 00	126,539 97
Wayne—Honesdale and Texas Twp.	8,017 66	113 04	2,754 87	50 00		281 66	11,217 23
Westmoreland	229,383 90	28,792 84	40,918 81	11,732 35		8,977 75	319,797 74
York	34,603 05	12,761 82	38,844 32	1,687 92	1,560 02	4,753 52	94,210 15
Total	\$3,765,844 08	\$1,101,372 10	\$914,905 89	\$295,015 37	\$88,436 61	\$658,078 81	\$6,823,642 86

TABLE XXXVIII
RELATION OF ADMINISTRATION EXPENDITURES TO GRAND TOTAL POOR RELIEF
EXPENDITURES—1923.
 (By Counties and Almshouse Districts)

County and Poor Districts	Grand Total Poor Relief Expenditures	Administration Expenditures		Per cent Total Administration Expenditures are of Grand Total Poor Relief Expenditures
		General ¹	Almshouse ²	
			Total	
Adams	\$28,482 35	\$1,361 00	\$5,824 92	\$7,185 92
Allegheny—County Home	383,827 79	12,307 57	72,320 51	84,627 88
Pittsburgh City	660,885 79	48,720 85	213,136 20	261,857 05
Armstrong—Kittanning Boro.	14,057 75	1,121 69	1,787 50	2,909 19
Manor Township	2,445 96	378 75	233 50	592 25
Beaver	127,255 90	1,800 00	6,994 98	8,794 98
Bedford	24,700 74	1,937 75	4,488 28	6,426 03
Berks	98,466 64	1,750 27	23,755 08	25,505 35
Blair	65,353 74	2,794 03	7,203 18	10,002 21
Bradford	86,091 81	1,642 38	7,988 75	9,631 13
Bucks	28,004 61	2,440 85	7,600 78	10,041 63
Butler	69,759 02	2,474 51	6,101 40	8,575 91
Cambria	107,029 00	8,695 48	9,482 59	18,178 07
Carbon—Middle Coal Field	169,063 10	6,518 22	12,872 28	19,390 50
Centre—Belleville Boro.	5,962 55	1,550 83	438 00	1,958 83
Phillipsburg Boro.	2,623 00	562 60	618 00	1,120 60
Rush Township	4,334 50	445 03	600 15	1,105 15
Spring Township	600 00	---	600 00	600 00
Chester	42,614 07	604 55	15,237 43	15,841 98
Clarion	37,257 76	2,434 20	3,482 50	5,916 70
Clearfield	95,945 98	8,974 98	7,451 98	16,426 96
Clinton—Lock Haven	9,941 93	1,050 00	1,957 00	3,007 00
Columbia—Bloom Poor District	17,179 27	1,109 96	1,680 80	2,790 76
Conyngham & Centralia	22,086 77	2,533 90	2,106 90	4,640 80
Crawford	79,447 63	718 00	8,088 67	8,806 67
Cumberland	35,432 55	3,549 68	11,060 93	14,610 61
Dauphin	89,116 41	7,177 97	13,891 11	21,069 08
Delaware	111,239 14	6,078 27	13,375 53	19,453 80
Elk	61,439 70	2,612 32	3,632 17	6,244 49
Erie	238,374 42	18,207 65	12,527 46	30,734 51
Fayette	164,003 51	7,911 26	15,438 21	23,349 47
Forest	9,828 40	746 68	2,432 61	3,179 29
Franklin	29,963 71	1,500 50	4,848 28	6,348 78
Greene	18,609 98	2,583 90	1,738 19	4,322 09
Huntingdon	18,643 09	1,085 43	3,282 25	4,367 68
Indiana	58,707 45	2,627 45	8,753 81	11,381 26
Jefferson	53,919 82	3,423 82	5,761 86	9,185 68

Lackawanna—Blakely	82,972 92	8,193 31	15,873 10	24,066 41	29.0
Carbondale City	28,588 22	3,316 09	1,449 00	4,765 09	16.7
Jenkins Township, Pittston City & Pittston Poor District	90,612 10	4,160 00	5,990 00	10,150 00	11.2
Lake View Poor District	11,707 70	3,315 00	3,144 97	3,459 97	29.6
Scranton Poor District	288,287 13	19,088 86	72,523 30	91,612 16	31.8
Lancaster	42,232 64	3,600 00	12,922 08	15,922 08	37.7
Lawrence—New Castle	22,154 36	2,206 53	2,006 77	4,213 30	19.0
Lebanon	33,074 00	1,400 00	6,993 00	8,393 00	25.4
Lehigh	118,889 05	2,100 43	13,065 95	15,166 38	12.8
Luzerne—Central Poor District	617,994 42	33,151 05	32,890 91	66,131 86	10.7
Lycoming—Williamsport	37,669 43	3,765 12	2,410 30	6,175 42	16.4
McKeen—Bradford City	27,098 98	2,352 49	3,002 09	5,354 58	19.8
County Home	63,965 18	5,609 81	5,694 31	10,704 12	16.7
Mercer	76,960 79	2,632 20	18,064 68	21,296 88	27.7
Mifflin	12,660 11	239 80	2,479 00	2,718 89	21.5
Monroe—East Stroudsburg	2,846 73	419 28	144 00	419 28	14.7
Stroudsburg	6,902 96	439 40	13,467 15	583 40	8.5
Montgomery	119,732 04	5,634 93	3,032 63	15,502 08	16.3
Montour—Danville & Mahoning Twp.	13,435 74	1,456 06	3,032 63	4,488 69	33.4
Liberty Township	369 37	103 14	103 14	103 14	27.9
Northampton	943 17	118 49	118 49	118 49	12.6
Northumberland—Milton Boro.	88,000 74	8,733 92	8,510 60	12,231 62	13.9
Mount Carmel	8,775 37	958 62	680 00	1,638 62	18.7
Northumberland	36,226 46	2,981 23	1,696 99	4,678 22	12.9
Shamokin & Coal Twp.	1,153 38	122 15	100 00	222 15	19.3
Sumbury	99,087 92	15,556 21	3,624 90	19,181 11	19.4
Zerbe Twp.	19,287 99	3,113 67	1,310 91	4,424 58	22.9
Perry	4,322 63	769 55	1,866 50	2,336 05	54.0
Philadelphia—Germantown	737 70	737 70	1,338 99	2,136 89	15.5
Home for the Indigent	13,809 42	8,701 77	7,012 93	13,714 70	16.3
Oxford & Lower Dublin	586,141 03	10,662 93	131,823 33	142,486 26	24.3
Roxborough	65,115 00	2,599 00	2,573 49	5,172 49	7.9
Potter	9,818 66	306 00	1,236 30	1,542 30	15.7
Schuylkill	46,808 44	2,427 17	6,659 40	9,086 57	19.4
Snyder—Selingsgrove	191,353 34	9,614 47	25,451 73	35,086 20	18.3
Somerset	745 47	109 47	109 47	109 47	14.7
Susquehanna—Auburn & Rush	31,748 92	500 00	2,403 86	2,903 86	9.1
Forest City	21,868 51	507 85	2,200 00	2,707 85	12.4
Montrose	7,465 67	1,104 00	684 60	1,788 60	24.0
New Milford	1,339 98	170 00	95 05	195 05	14.3
Susquehanna & Oakland Twp.	6,072 57	731 32	859 97	1,591 29	26.2
Tioga	8,203 50	364 42	1,513 02	1,877 44	22.9
Venango	55,506 38	3,471 42	5,387 22	8,858 61	16.0
Warren	46,500 27	2,485 14	6,514 27	8,999 41	19.4
Washington	50,451 96	2,930 34	7,238 64	10,178 98	20.2
Wayne—Honesdale & Texas Twp.	4,500 00	15,504 69	20,004 69	20,004 69	15.8
Westmoreland	126,539 67	4,500 00	1,679 97	1,959 13	17.5
York	11,217 23	7,857 64	17,807 87	25,665 51	8.0
	319,797 74	3,776 97	9,266 63	13,043 60	13.8
Total	\$6,823,612 86	\$361,785 90	\$899,503 69	\$1,361,289 59	19.9

¹General Administration Expenditures include: Directors and Overseers salaries and wages, travelling expenses, office expenses, etc.

²Almsouse Administration Expenditures include: Almsouse salaries, wages, travelling expenses, office expenses, etc.

